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ART. V.—1. *Manners and Customs of several Indian Tribes, located west of the Mississippi, including some Account of the Soil, Climate and vegetable Productions; and the Indian Materia Medica; to which is prefixed the History of the Author's Life, during a Residence of several Years among them.* By JOHN D. HUNTER. 8vo. pp. 402. Philadelphia. 1823.

2. *Historical Notes respecting the Indians of North America, with Remarks on the Attempts made to convert and civilise them.* By JOHN HALKETT, Esq. 8vo. pp. 408. London. 1825.

MORE than three centuries have passed away, since the American continent became known to the Europeans. At the period of its discovery, it was inhabited by a race of men, in their physical conformation, their moral habits, their social and political relations, their languages and modes of life, differing essentially from the inhabitants of the old world. From Hudson's Bay to Mexico, and from the Atlantic to the Rocky Mountains, the country was possessed by numerous petty tribes, resembling one another in their general features, but separated into independent communities, always in a state of alarm and suspicion, and generally on terms of open hostility. These people were in the rudest condition of society, wandering from place to place, without sciences and without arts, (for we cannot dignify with the name of arts the making of bows and arrows, and the dressing of skins,) without metallic instruments, without domestic animals; raising a little corn by the labor of their women, with a clamshell or the scapula of a buffalo, devouring it with true savage improvidence, and subsisting, during the remainder of the year, upon the precarious supplies furnished by the chase, and by fishing. They were thinly scattered over an immense extent of country, fixing their summer residence upon some little spot of fertile land, and roaming, with their families, and their mat or skin houses, during the winter, through the forests, in pursuit of the animals necessary for food and clothing.

Such a state of society could not but arrest the attention of the adventurer, to whom everything was new and strange. A spirit of inquiry had been recently awakened in Europe,

and the discovery of the mariner's compass, and the art of printing, had wonderfully enlarged the sphere of human observation, and given new vigor to the human faculties. And we find, accordingly, that the man of America soon became the subject of examination and speculation, and many a ponderous tome has been written on the topic, from the letter of Vereyzani to Francis the First, in 1524, down to the latest work manufactured in London, by some professional book maker, whose accurate knowledge of the Indian character and condition has been acquired, by profound observation within Temple bar, or who strings together the falsehoods of such men as the personage, who calls himself John Dunn Hunter; and whose *finale* is always a Jeremiad, upon the savage treatment of the aborigines of this continent, by their barbarous Anglo American neighbors.

In a retrospective examination of this mass of materials, it is easy to perceive, that the progress we have made in this interesting investigation, bears no proportion to the time and labor, which have been expended upon it; nor is it difficult to account for this unsatisfactory result.

Of the external habits of the Indians, if we may so speak, we have the most ample details. Their wars, their amusements, their hunting, and the more prominent facts connected with their occupations and condition, have been described with great prolixity, and doubtless with much fidelity, by a host of persons, whose opportunities for observation, and whose qualifications for description have been as different, as the places and the eras in which they have written. Eyes have not been wanting to see, nor tongues to relate, nor pens to record the incidents, which, from time to time, have occurred among our aboriginal neighbors. The eating of fire, the swallowing of daggers, the escape from swathed buffalo robes, and the juggling incantations and ceremonies, by which the dead are raised, the sick healed, and the living killed, have been witnessed by many, who related what they saw, but who were grossly deceived by their own credulity, and by the skill of the Indian *Waubeno*. We have ourselves, in the depth and solitude of our primeval forests, and among some of the wildest and most remote of our Indian tribes, gazed with ardent curiosity, and perhaps with some slight emotion of awe, upon the *Jongleur*, who with impudent dex-

terity performed feats, which probably it is wiser to witness than to relate. And when the surrounding naked and painted multitude, exulting in the imposing performance, and in the victory obtained over the incredulity of the white strangers, fixed their eyes upon us, and raised their piercing yell, breaking the sounds by the repeated application of the hand to the mouth, and dancing around us with the activity of mountebanks, and the ferocity of demons,

‘ We dare not say, that then our blood,  
Kept on its wont and tempered flood,’

nor that, under less favorable circumstances, the scene might not have been terrific, and impressed us with recollections, equally difficult to reject and to account for. And there can be no doubt, that similar scenes in other times, with proper ‘ appliances and means to boot,’ have been the origin of most of those stories of Indian miracles and prophecies, which occupy so large a portion of the narratives of our earlier historians and travellers.

But of the moral character and feelings of the Indians, of their mental discipline, of their peculiar opinions, mythological and religious, and of all that is most valuable to man in the history of man, we are about as ignorant, as when Jacques Cartier first ascended the St Lawrence. The constitution of their society, and the ties, by which they are kept together, furnish a paradox, which has never received the explanation it requires. We say they have no government. And they have none, whose operation is felt either in rewards or punishments. And yet their lives and property are protected, and their political relations among themselves, and with other tribes, are duly preserved. Have they then no passions to excite them to deeds of violence, or have they discovered, and reduced to practice, some unknown principle of action in human nature, equally efficacious with the two great motives of hope and fear, upon which all other governments have heretofore rested? Why does an Indian, who has been guilty of murder, tranquilly fold his blanket about his head, and, seating himself upon the ground, await the retributive stroke from the relation of the deceased? A white man, under similar circumstances, would flee, or resist, and we can conceive of no motive, which would induce him to submit to such a sacrifice. Those Indians, who have mur-

dered any of our citizens, have generally surrendered themselves for trial. The Winebagoes convicted at Belleville, the Osages at the Post of Arkansas, and the seven persons now confined at Mackinac, for the murder of four American citizens upon Lake Pepin, in August 1824, freely delivered themselves to our authority, as necessary offerings for their own guilt, and to exonerate their tribes from suspicion or injury. And it is but a just tribute to the impartial execution of our laws to state, that the persons, who were guilty of the atrocious murder of a number of Indians, a few months since in Indiana, were convicted and executed in June last.

This result is, however, sometimes avoided, by an agreement on the part of the friends of the murdered person, to receive a present, instead of the life of the offender. It is the price of blood, and contributions are freely made to it by all the relations of the criminal. But its acceptance, or rejection, is purely voluntary, and as there is no obligation to receive, so no offence is given by refusing this peace offering. The victim dies, if the love of revenge is stronger than the love of property. In 1824, an Ottawa Indian was killed by a Miami. A formal negotiation was carried on between the two tribes, which finally resulted in the payment of five thousand dollars, by the latter to the former. It is worthy of remark, that the right to kill a murderer, without any preparatory demand, is confined to persons of the same tribe. When the criminal and the victim belong to different tribes, a demand must be made, previously to the adoption of any other measure, which if not satisfied, is followed by war.

Within the last year, we ourselves, far in the interior of the country, while surveying the initiatory ceremonies of the Indian *meetay*, one of their mystical societies, saw a Chippewa, whose grave and serious demeanor attracted our observation. His appearance led to the inquiry, whether any peculiarity in his situation impressed upon his deportment the air of seriousness, which was too evident to be mistaken. It was ascertained, that he had killed a Potawatamie Indian, during the preceding season, and that the Potawatamies had made the usual demand for his surrender. On a representation, however, that he was deeply in debt, and that his immediate death would cause much injustice to some of the traders, the injured tribe at length agreed to postpone his

execution, till another season, that the produce of his winter's hunt might be applied to the discharge of his debts. He had been successful in his exertions, and had paid the claims against him. He was about to leave his friends, and to receive, with the fortitude of a warrior, the doom which awaited him. He was now, for the last time, enjoying the society of all who were dear to him. No man doubted his resolution, and no man doubted his fate. Instructions, however, were given to the proper agent, to redeem his life at the expense of the United States.

The solution of these moral difficulties, so perplexing in the present state of our knowledge, must be left for future inquirers. We cannot but hope, that the darkness will ere long be dispelled, and that we shall not be left to grope our way with such feeble lights, as serve only to make it the more visible.

It is easier, however, to estimate the difficulties, which have heretofore impeded the acquisition of full and correct information upon all subjects, connected with the past and present condition of the Indians, than it is to obviate them. The earlier and the principal writers on these topics were the Roman Catholic missionaries, who were sent by the French government, at a very early day, into Canada to convert the Indians to christianity. They were men of learning, zeal, and piety, abstracted from all selfish considerations, and wholly devoted to the great objects of their mission. They accompanied the Indians into every part of the country, submitted to unexampled privation, and lived and died with their Neophytes. Their opportunities were most favorable for procuring information, and had they been men of enlarged views, and of sound judgment, we should now have little more to desire. But, unfortunately, every object was seen through the medium of their prejudices, and of their peculiar religious opinions. There was a childish credulity about them, which we know not whether to attribute to their profession, to the age, or to the situations in which they were placed. Every fortunate incident was a miracle; and every uncommon natural occurrence was attributed to the direct interposition of the Deity. A modern French writer, in speaking upon this subject, very pertinently remarks, *Je ne m'arrête ni à réfuter, ni à examiner de telles asser-*

tions ; il semble seulement que la religion véritable trouve, dans ses maladroits sectaires et dans ses prosélytes crédules, des ennemis plus à craindre, que dans ses ennemis les plus ouvertement déclarés.' Even Charlevoix, who was selected by the French government to travel over New France, and to prepare an account of that country, and who wrote so late as 1745, is not free from this superstition. In all other respects, he was a man admirably qualified to discharge the task assigned to him. Patient in investigation, cautious in his belief, and judicious in his observations, his narrative and history contain more sound views on the general subject of the Indians, than the works of all the writers, who preceded, or who have followed him.

In the British colonies, few attempts were made to rescue from approaching destruction, the memorials of the people, who occupied the Atlantic States at the period of the arrival of the Europeans. The aboriginal inhabitants of these colonies rapidly retreated, or disappeared, before the white settlements, nor did they ever evince those attachments to the English, which have marked the intercourse of the interior Indians with the Canadians. There was but little opportunity for doing anything, and but little in fact was done.

Unfortunately, too, for the progress of correct opinions, many of the works of the earlier writers, both English and French, were composed with a view to certain preconceived notions, respecting the origin of the aboriginal inhabitants of America. This was long a *questio vexata*, upon which much sense and nonsense were written, and which we trust no man will again have the folly to revive and discuss. Adair's heavy work is a striking example of the effect of this adaptation of facts to a favorite theory. His great object is to prove, that the Indians are descended from the Jews, and in the teeth of all probability, this object is steadily pursued through a large quarto. No dependence is to be placed upon his statements, where they can produce any effect upon this idle notion. No rational estimate can be formed of the character of any people, without viewing them at home, in their own country, engaged in their ordinary duties and occupations. This is peculiarly the case with the Indians. Those, who hang upon the white settlements, are worthless and abandoned. They have all the vices, without any of the

virtues of civilised and uncivilised life. They know nothing of their own history, nor of the nature of their institutions. Any information derived from them must be vague and unsatisfactory.

But the difficulty of surveying the Indians in their own country, is in direct proportion to its importance. They are jealous and suspicious, unwilling to associate with strangers, and slow to give them their confidence. Persons, unacquainted with them, and ignorant of their language, cannot reside with them, and follow them from camp to camp, through the vicissitudes of the seasons, and exposed to privations, which Indians only can provide against, or successfully encounter. A fortitude and zeal, which could meet and overcome these obstacles, are rarely found, and still more rarely applied to such pursuits.

But the great difficulty, in these investigations, results from the want of some medium of communication between the inquirer and the Indians. Most of the interpreters are of Canadian descent, and do not speak the English language, and none of them are competent, by their education or habits of thinking, to pursue a train of investigation to any practical result. In fact, they can neither comprehend difficulties, which present themselves, nor aid in their solution. In the scale of intellect, they are generally below the more intelligent Indian Chiefs; and all the idle legends of the tribe are received, and repeated by them, with the firmest conviction of their truth. Some progress may be made with their assistance, by interrogating the elder Indians, and by the observance of due caution, in the researches connected with their history, traditions, and manners. And by a tedious process of cross questioning, we may finally arrive at a reasonable probability. And this is the very *Ultima Thule* of our efforts, beyond which is an unknown region. Those, who reach it, must be more fortunate navigators, than we have been. Their opportunities cannot well be greater, nor their zeal and assiduity directed by stronger hopes of discovery.

But it is particularly in philological investigations, that the poverty of our means of communication is most perceptible, and most to be deplored. The perplexing labor of these pursuits can be fully understood by those only, who have made the experiment. A man, who has all his life said, ‘I



go yesterday,' 'I go today,' 'I go tomorrow;' whose declarations, wishes, and commands, are expressed by the same word; and in whose conversation, there is no variation between action and passion, must be made to comprehend all the distinctions, both obvious and recondite, of tenses, moods, and voices. But notwithstanding these discouraging circumstances, the subject has been pursued with ardor by many persons, and by some, who are qualified to investigate and discuss it.

Governor Clinton's discourse on the history of the Iroquois, delivered before the New York Historical Society, is a performance, highly valuable for the authenticity of its details, for the clearness of its style, and for the sound and judicious remarks, with which it abounds. This succinct abstract has, also, the merit of being the first attempt at a historical account of any one of our Indian tribes, for Colden's work does not aspire to the dignity of history. It is a dry detail of facts, true, no doubt, but without a solitary reflection, calculated to arrest the attention of the reader, and without even an effort to connect causes with their events. It will, probably, be hereafter found, that the most effectual means of rescuing from destruction, the perishable and perishing memorials of the Indian character, will be to follow the example of Governor Clinton, to confine the attention to a single tribe, and trace their history and progress, through the writings of the French travellers, down to our own times.

Several expeditions have been recently despatched into the Indian country, charged, among other objects, to collect information respecting the condition of the Indians; the plan of which has been creditable to the government of the United States, while their execution has reflected honor on the gentlemen employed in these laborious tasks. The late work of Mr Schoolcraft, describing his travels in the central portions of the Mississippi valley, is marked with many original reflections, on subjects connected with the Indians. His opportunities for observation have been great, and it is evident, that they have not been neglected. His official station, and his local residence, are highly advantageous for further investigation, and we trust the same persevering application, which has heretofore characterised his literary labors, will enable him to fulfil the hopes of his friends, and the just expectations of his countrymen.

Major Long, and the gentlemen associated with him in his two expeditions, have furnished much valuable matter on these topics. The statistical facts, which they have reported, are highly valuable, and will be hereafter referred to, as important data in all general and comprehensive views, which may be taken of the then existing state of the Indians. A very laudable anxiety is manifested by these gentlemen, to procure and record every fact, which could aid them or their readers, in forming just conclusions on the various topics discussed in these works. But it is evident that they felt, and felt severely, the inconvenience of pursuing these speculations, even in the Indian country, without the aid of persons competent to interchange ideas between the red and the white man; and the history of the last expedition, particularly, should serve as a warning to future travellers, passing rapidly through the interior, against committing themselves by the discussion of questions affecting our aborigines, for a full consideration of which, much time, tedious and laborious investigations, and highly favorable opportunities, are essentially requisite. It is not every man, who has lost sight of the flag staff of an interior post, or who has seen a buffalo or a muskrat, that can add anything valuable to the immense stock of materials, which has been accumulating for more than three centuries.

The party under Major Long entered the Indian country, in the neighborhood of Fort Wayne, about the last of May, and left it in the beginning of October, at the Falls of St Mary. They traversed more than three thousand miles of interior country, between these points, and were occupied about four months in that part of their journey; a brief space, for the examination of the immense variety of objects, moral and physical, to which their researches were directed. Almost one third part of the history of the expedition is devoted to an account of the Indians, embracing the Sacs, the Potawatamies, the Sioux, and the Chippewas. This last tribe is at the head of the great Algonquin family of the French writers, and was formerly numerous and powerful; extending, even now, in its various ramifications, from Lake Erie to the Eskimaux, who inhabit the borders of the Frozen Ocean. cursory remarks are also introduced, on the Miamies, Kickapoos, Menomnies, and Winebagoes.

The information, from which these accounts were digested and prepared, was furnished by a few Indians, half breeds

and interpreters, whom they encountered upon their journey. These were, for the Potawatamies, Metea, a worthless drunken Potawatamie, and Barron, the interpreter at Fort Wayne, a weak, credulous man; for the Sacs, an Indian of that tribe; for the Sioux, Renville, a trader, who is connected with them by blood; and for the Chippewas, Bruce, a half breed, who speaks no English, and Tanner, who was taken by the Indians in early life, and speaks English very imperfectly. We know all these men well, except Bruce and the Sac Indian; and we know, from our own intercourse with them, that little reliance is to be placed on the judgment of some, and on the veracity of others. Renville is the most intelligent, and even his opinions must be received with great caution. By devoting ample time to the subject, valuable information might be extracted from them, after their confidence was fully gained; and by personal observation and minute inquiries, true and fabulous statements might be separated. But every person, in the slightest degree acquainted with the credulity and prejudices of Indians and Indian interpreters, must know, that answers hastily given to numerous interrogatories, submitted by strangers, passing rapidly through the country, are entitled to very little credit. By some the questions would be misunderstood, and the subject by others; and the ceaseless jealousy and suspicion, which never leave an Indian, would lead to many a wilful misrepresentation.

Surely the intelligent gentlemen, who composed that expedition, will not demand from the readers of its history, their implicit belief in accounts thus collected and reported. The task would be ungrateful in itself, and peculiarly disagreeable to us, to point out the numerous errors of fact and opinion, into which they have been led. We must, however, in justice to our own *national character*, restrict the application of the contemptuous comparison, mentioned in the second volume, (p. 168,) to the sense in which it is used by the Chippewas. It is there stated, that when anything awkward or foolish is done, the Chippewas say, *Wametegogin gegakepatese*, which signifies, 'as stupid as a white man.' The expression used on these occasions is, 'as stupid as a Frenchman.'

Like Frenchman as fool.  
Ketchewa Waamitikotheeng aashee Kekeepauteseet.

There is one remark in the work, so general in its application, that if not corrected, it may hereafter lead to important

errors in the investigation of the affinities of the different tribes. It is said, the 'Totem' is a distinguishing characteristic between the nations of the Algonquin family and those of the Sioux. The Potawatamies are stated, and correctly, to have the *Totem*, but 'not to be divided into tribes, designated by the names of animals, as is reported to be the case with the Missouri Indians, but they are distinguished merely from their local habitations.' Now the *Totem* is the armorial badge or bearing of each tribe, into which the various nations are divided. It is the representation of the animal, from which the tribe is named. This is not the place to discuss the principles and objects of this institution. It is one of the most important in aboriginal polity, and its full developement would lead to new views and opinions. Its operation is felt in religious ceremonies, in the laws regulating marriages, and in the succession and election of civil, or, as they are called, Village Chiefs. If one of the tribes has a right to furnish the Chief, the others have a right to elect him.

The tribes are named from the Eagle, the Hawk, the Beaver, the Buffalo, and from all the 'beasts of the field, the fowls of the air,' and the fishes of the rivers and lakes. The succession in the tribes is in the female line, and the figure of the sacred animal is the *Totem*, which every individual of the tribe affixes, whenever his mark is necessary, or wherever he wishes to leave a memorial of himself. This beloved symbol adheres to him in death, and is painted upon the post, which marks his grave. We consider it by no means certain, that the Sioux have no *Totem*. We have conversed with Renville on this subject, and discussed it with him, and with Blondeau, a half breed Fox, perfectly well acquainted with the Mississippi Indians. Blondeau led us to believe, that the institution exists among the Sioux; although perhaps its primitive character and objects are changed, and his observations appeared to shake the opinion of Renville.

But it is certain, that the *Totem* is not confined to the Algonquin family. It is in full operation among the Wyandots and Iroquois, whose language is as different from that of the Algonquin Indians, as the latter is from the Sioux.

In dismissing this subject, we shall merely express the hope, that in any future similar undertaking, to which the gentlemen, engaged in this expedition may be called, they may carry

to the task the same zeal, spirit, and intelligence, which they have already displayed, with more favorable opportunities for their exertion, and with at least a moderate portion of skepticism.

But we must conclude these remarks, which have already extended to an unreasonable length, and proceed to an examination of other works, especially Mr Heckewelder's, and those whose titles are prefixed to this article. From the subjects of which they respectively treat, we shall be naturally led to a consideration of the three great interesting topics, which relate to our Indians; namely, their past and present condition; their languages; and the efforts, which have been and should be made, for their moral and physical melioration.

The American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, animated by a very laudable desire to place upon record all the information, within their reach, on topics connected with the Indians, instituted certain inquiries, the result of which is contained in the first volume of their *Historical and Literary Transactions*. This information is derived from Mr. Heckewelder, and consists of his general account of the Delaware tribe, contained in a series of chapters, and a partial analysis of the Delaware language, principally given in an epistolary form, in a correspondence between himself and Mr Duponceau, a distinguished member of the Society, in which correspondence the former is the teacher, and the latter presents himself as the scholar. This kind of written dialogue is liable to serious objections, in grave discussions, where the efforts of the writer, and the attention of the reader should remain unbroken. And notwithstanding the example of Horne Tooke, in the *Diversions of Purley*, we are prone to the belief, that a little more effort on the part of Mr Duponceau would have enabled him to remodel the correspondence, and combine his questions with the answers of Mr Heckewelder, in such a manner as sensibly to reduce the size of the book, and make a stronger impression on the reader.

Mr Heckewelder was a worthy, zealous Moravian Missionary, who devoted his life, and it was not a short one, to the great cause of Indian missions, and that with more zeal than effect, if we can judge from the character and conduct of the Indians, who belonged to his mission, and who are now under the superintendence of a Moravian clergyman, on *La Rivière*

à la Tranche, in Upper Canada. He was a man of moderate intellect, and of still more moderate attainments; of great credulity, and with strong personal attachments to the Indians. His entire life was passed among the Delawares, and his knowledge of the Indian history and character was derived wholly from them. The Delaware tribe was the first and the last object of his hopes. Every legendary story of their former power, and of their subsequent fall, such as the old men repeat to the boys, in the long winter evenings, was received by him in perfect good faith, and has been recorded with all the gravity of history. It appears never to have occurred to him, that these traditionary stories, orally repeated from generation to generation, may have finally borne very little resemblance to the events they commemorate, nor that a Delaware could sacrifice the love of truth to the love of his tribe. To those, who know something about Indian traditions, nothing can be more unsatisfactory, than these details, unless they are corroborated by the accounts of the early travellers, or by concurrent circumstances. Mr Heckewelder's naïveté is really amusing; and we now look back, with the soberness of experience, to the time, when, in his own house, upon the Tuscarawas, we were as anxious to hear as he was to relate, the marvellous events of his intercourse with the Indians; and when both narrator and hearer believed all that was told, and frequently in an inverse proportion to its probability. We esteemed the man when living, and we cherish his memory now he is dead.

And yet with much valuable information, which his book contains, and notwithstanding the purest intentions with which it was written, perhaps no work, that has appeared for half a century, has produced more erroneous impressions on this subject. Mr Heckewelder thought, and reasoned, like an Indian and a Delaware. In all the contests between the whites and their neighbors, he adopted the train of feeling of the latter. He looked solely at their wrongs, and surely they have been enough, without recollecting the horrible atrocities, which from time to time excited the frontier settlers to deeds of revenge, and, we may add, of vengeance. He looks back to some golden age, when all was peace, and plenty, and innocence; and when the Delawares, the *Grandfathers*, as he styles them, of all the Indians, exercised a paternal control over

them. All this may have been so, but there is not the slightest reason to believe it. At the time of the arrival of the Europeans, and, in all probability, long before, the golden and the brazen ages of Indian history had passed away, and had been succeeded, as in other countries, by an age of iron. The various petty tribes were in a state of constant war; of bloody, exterminating war; of war, as in all after times, which knew no distinction of age, sex, or condition. And their own situation and traditions, the offensive and defensive armor which was used, and the numberless fortifications scattered through the country, prove, that this last and worst curse, which could befall them, had been operating for ages.

The bounties of Providence, offered to these deluded people for their comfort and subsistence, on the land and in the water, were wilfully rejected for pursuits, which rendered it unsafe to traverse their forests, or to resort to their rivers and lakes. By Mr Heckewelder's own account, the Delawares were intruders in the Ohio and Atlantic countries, and obtained possession by the extermination of their predecessors.

But independently of these more general views, which led Mr Heckewelder, in all the wars between the whites and the Indians, to see nothing but a contest of strength and avarice on one side, and of weakness and poverty on the other; his personal predilections for the Delawares, and, we may add, his opportunities of intercourse, which were confined to them, gave a strong bias to his judgment on all questions affecting them. Many of his assertions and conclusions are utterly irreconcilable, not only with the most authentic accounts, which have reached us, but with the traditions of other tribes, and with well known circumstances, in which the Delawares have been placed. In fact, his history, if true, would unhinge all our knowledge upon these subjects, and would destroy every vestige of confidence in the early French authors, who wrote almost two centuries ago, under favorable circumstances for observation; and whose knowledge of the Indians extended to every tribe east of the Mississippi, and west of the Allegany mountains. It is not probable, that Mr Heckewelder had the means of comparing these statements with the traditions of the Delawares. He quotes but two or three of them, and these for other purposes. One he designates *Father La Hontan*, doubtless by an oversight.

La Hontan was a soldier by profession, a skeptic in principle, and a very Münchhausen in the narrative of his adventures. His whole account of the Long River is an impudent fiction, utterly irreconcilable with the known geography of the country; and his character is well drawn by Charlevoix. This author says, that the great liberty, which La Hontan gave to his pen, contributed much to make his book read and sought after by those, who could not tell to what a degree truth and falsehood were confounded in it; and adds, that an intimate knowledge of the history of Canada is necessary to enable a reader to separate one from the other. 'In short,' continues Charlevoix, 'almost all his proper names are mangled, the greater portion of his facts are disfigured, and entire episodes are inserted, which are pure fictions, such as the voyage on the Long River, not less fabulous than the isle of Barataria, of which Sancho Panza was made governor.' 'En effet presque tous les noms propres y sont estropiés, la plupart des faits y sont défigurés, et l'on y trouve des épisodes entiers, qui sont des pures fictions, tel qu'est le voyage sur la Rivière Longue, aussi fabuleuse, que l'Isle Barataria, dont Sancho Pansa fut fait le gouverneur.'

The effect of Mr Heckewelder's work, upon the prevailing notions respecting Indian history, is every day more and more visible. It has furnished materials for the writers of periodical works, and even of *history*; and in one of those beautiful delineations of American scenery, incidents, and manners, for which we are indebted to the taste and talent of our eminent novelist, 'the last of the Mohegans' is an Indian of the school of Mr Heckewelder, and not of the school of nature.\* To counteract these erroneous opinions, we shall enumerate some of the more prominent errors, into which

\* An anecdote has just gone the round of the papers, which admirably illustrates this misapplication of the feelings and sentiments of civilised life to the Indians. In the account of the introduction of Red Jacket to Lafayette, it is said, that Lafayette asked him, where was the young Seneca, who, in 1784, at Fort Schuyler, so eloquently opposed the burying of the tomahawk 'The old warrior replied, with all his native peculiarity, "He has the honor to stand before you." Native peculiarity indeed! This might suit a Parisian dancing master. If such a question were ever put to Red Jacket, we venture to say, he struck his breast, elevated himself, and exclaimed, *Eeh!* It is not a month since we saw, in a respectable paper, an account of a society among the Menomonicus, to which persons were admitted by ballot, and where all the ballots must be unanimous to authorise admission!



the author has fallen ; contenting ourselves with the tribute we have already paid to the memory of Mr Heckewelder, and to the merits of the work.

The orthography adopted for the name, by which the Delawares distinguished themselves, *Lenni Lenape*, is not correct, and conveys a very erroneous idea of the sound. It should be written *Lenee Lenaupé*, with the accent on the last syllable, and a strong expiration of the breath ; conveying a sound, which has no exact representative in the English alphabet. Mr Heckewelder indulges himself in much speculation, concerning the meaning of these words. *Lenno*, he says, is man, and *Lenape*, original. *Lenee* is undoubtedly used by the Delawares, in a restricted sense, to signify man. But its more general and proper meaning, is male. Our word *original* conveys an improper idea of the Delaware word *Lenaupé*. Its true meaning is *common* ; and it is applied to such objects, either of nature or of art, as are of common occurrence. Thus, *Aughkweeyun* is cloth, and *Lenee Aughkweeyun*, is common cloth, such as the Indians ordinarily use. *Piyaughkeekun* is a gun, and *Lenee Piyaughkeekun*, is a fusil, or common gun, as contradistinguished from a rifle. The signification of *original*, given by Mr Heckewelder to the word *Lenaupé*, furnishes him with an argument to support his favorite theory, that the Delawares are the stock from which all the other Indians descended.\* Even if this application were well established, it would only evince a little national vanity, too common and too harmless for serious examination. A similar instance is found in a remote tribe under the arctic circle, who, according to Captain Franklin, designate themselves, *the People*.†

No inconsiderable portion of this work is devoted to a description of the claims, advanced by the Delawares to a superiority over the other Indians, and to a recapitulation of their traditions upon this subject. Had the author's acquaintance with the various tribes been more general, he would have known, that these claims were too frequent among them

\* There seems to be much confusion in Mr Heckewelder's own ideas of the name in question, as may be seen by comparing the passages in which he speaks of it. See pp. 25, 368, 412.

† Franklin's Narrative, p. 142.

to be entitled to much consideration. The traditions of almost all of them bear too evident marks of national partiality, to be received without due caution. The patronymic name, *Grandfather*, applied by most of the tribes to the Delawares, and so much relied upon by Mr Heckewelder, furnishes no ground for the conclusion which he draws. The family appellations, given by various tribes to one another, cannot be traced to any relations, which have subsisted between them, since their history has been known to us. This is a curious subject, and involved in much obscurity. Perhaps a full consideration of it might lead to important conclusions. They seem to have considered themselves members of one family, standing in different degrees of relation to one another. Of this family, the Wyandot tribe is the elder brother. All the other tribes, except the Delaware, acknowledge this claim of primogeniture, on the part of the Wyandots. The Delawares call them *uncle*, and this relation is acknowledged by the use of the corresponding term *nephew*. The terms, *grandfather* and *grandchildren*, are interchangeably used between the other tribes and the Delawares. Of those, some are brothers, and some younger brothers. And it is not a little remarkable, that these claims of kindred seem to have no connexion with the present languages spoken by the Indians. We should naturally expect, that the most remote relations would be found subsisting between tribes, whose languages are radically different ; being probably descended from different stocks, or from the same stock at very different intervals.

We place no reliance on the traditionary narrative, given by the Delawares, of their early migrations. Of all sources of information these legendary tales are the most uncertain.\* How many accounts have been given by the Indians, of the former existence of the mammoth, and of the period and circumstances of their extinction ? Every reader will recollect the speech in the 'Notes on Virginia,' respecting the escape of the last of the species. And yet all these pretended traditions must have been mere fictions, probably in-

\* In the second volume of Major Long's first expedition, page 371, in a report from that officer to the War Department, are some sound and judicious observations, concerning the value of Indian traditions. They accord entirely with our observation, and we recommend their perusal to all, who are disposed to give much credit to these legends.

vented to satisfy the inquiries of the white man. Geologists are now teaching us, that these remains are wrecks of the antediluvian world.

The account given by the Delawares, of the destruction of the *Allegewi*, is probably entitled to similar credit. The derivation of the present name of the Alleghany river from that word may be correct. Our information does not enable us to form an opinion upon this point. But it adds little to the probability of the story, which it is introduced to support, if it be as erroneous as the derivation of the word *Mississippi*. Mr Heckewelder derives this from *Namæs*, a fish, and *Sipu*, river. A most unfortunate appellation for the Mississippi, unless it is intended to denote, that very few fish are found in it. The fact is, the name is derived from two Chippewa words, *Meese*, great, and *Seepee*, river. This word *Meese*, or *Meechee*, for it is differently pronounced in different places, is found in Michigan, Michilimackinac, Missouri, Mississaugau, and in many other names.

The ancient fortifications, scattered through the United States, and attributed by Mr Heckewelder to these Allegewi, have been the fruitful source of abundant speculation. We have no doubt, that they were erected by the forefathers of the present Indians, as places of refuge against the incursions of their enemies, and of security for their women and children, when they were compelled to leave them for the duties of the chase.\* And much of the mystery, in which this subject has been involved, owes its origin to a want of due consideration of the circumstances and condition of the Indians. We do not reflect on their almost infinite division into petty tribes, and on their hereditary and exterminating hostilities. Nor have we reflected, that the stone tomahawk is a very inefficient instrument for cutting timber into palisades; nor that, if fire be adopted as a substitute, the process is tedious and laborious. Their transportation, too, must have been a serious objection to their use, and in a few years they required renewal. Even when otherwise proper, they were always liable to be burned by the enemy. These circum-

\* Wherever the human race is placed, similar circumstances lead to similar customs. Dr Clarke remarks, that, 'a peculiar circumstance characterised the topography of ancient Greece. Every metropolis possessed its citadel and plain; the citadel as a place of refuge during war, the plain as a source of agriculture during peace.'

stances render it probable, that the erection of earthen parapets was the most economical and desirable mode, in which the Indians could provide for the security of themselves, and of those, who were most dear to them. And their migratory habits will sufficiently account for the number of these works, without resorting to the existence of a dense population, utterly irreconcilable with the habits of a people, who have not yet passed the hunter state of life. But a full consideration of this topic would carry us far beyond the limits of this article.

The history of the former power of the Delawares, and of the manner in which the sceptre departed from them, is almost too puerile for grave criticism. That an Indian tribe, while in the full career of victory, should be stopped, by a proposition from their rivals and enemies to become women, to put on a petticoat, or *matchicoaté*, the last degradation to which a warrior could submit, requires a degree of credulity greater than has fallen to our lot. This story is utterly irreconcilable with all previous accounts. The Delawares, two centuries ago, were a comparatively feeble tribe, occupying the eastern portion of Pennsylvania. They had yielded to the power of the Iroquois, the Romans of this part of the continent. These facts are stated by the Iroquois, and are corroborated by a thousand circumstances. It is not necessary to adduce the proofs here. Many of them will be found in the discourse of Governor Clinton, to which we have before referred. It will there be seen, that the powerful Iroquois confederacy had obtained a preponderating influence over all the Indians, who surrounded them, and that they carried dismay and death from the St Lawrence to the Mississippi.

Mr Heckewelder expresses his wonder, that the French historians took no notice of the Delawares. This tribe, however, is sometimes mentioned by them under the name of *Loups*, and not of *Lenape*, as he was informed by a *French gentleman*. This term, *Loups*, like the *Chat sauvage*, applied to the Shawnese, was, at first, probably a mere *sobriquet*, accidentally given, and continued, because it enabled the French to converse about the Indians, in their own presence, and without their knowledge. These names had no relation, as Mr Heckewelder supposes, to the name of any particular

tribe. In like manner, and with similar views, the Dahcotah were called Sioux; the Hochunkerah, Puans; the Wyandots, Hurons; the Menomonies, Folles Avoines; the Chippewas, Sauteurs; and all the others had similar masked appellations. But a sufficient reason for the little figure made by the Delawares, in the early histories, will be found in the total loss of their power and influence, and in the disgraceful necessity of passing *sub jugo* before their enemies. Their own account of this transaction is a nursery tale, by which a fallen people endeavor to conceal from others, and perhaps from themselves, the story of their defeat and disgrace.

We did intend to advert to other important errors, into which Mr Heckewelder has been led by his partial knowledge of the Indian tribes, and by the unbounded confidence he placed in the stories of his Delaware friends. Not certainly, on our part, in any captious temper, but merely to guard the reader against too implicit confidence in general results, when important details are thus obviously erroneous. Among these is his brief account of the Wyandots, formerly, we are inclined to believe, at the head of all the Indians, and holding the great Council Fire; and yet claiming the first seat and signature at all treaties. Of a similar nature is his account of Tecumthé,\* whom he confounds with the Prophet. They were brothers, but as different in their characters, as they have been in their fate. The conversation between Colonel Crawford and Wingenund, is, we have reason to believe, wholly apocryphal. It accords as little with our notions of Indian sentiments, as it does with the account we have received of this melancholy catastrophe from other quarters.† But we are admonished, by the task yet before us, to bring these observations to a close, and to submit to our readers a few brief remarks, on the philological discussions contained in this work.

\* The name of this celebrated chief has usually been written in this country, *Tecumseh*, but the true orthography is *Tecumthé*, as in the text, and as it is correctly written by the Canadian and English writers.

† The dialogue between Crawford and Wingenund, occupies three pages of the book. No white man was, or could be, present to hear or to record it. It contains quite a logical argument between the Indian Chief, and the victim at the stake, respecting the justice of the approaching execution. 'Had you,' says Wingenund, 'attended to the Indian principle, that as good and evil cannot dwell together in the same heart,' &c. This *Indian principle* is new to us,

Mr Heckewelder divides the languages, spoken by our Indian tribes, into four great classes, which he denominates the *Karalit*, the *Iroquois*, the *Lenape*, and the *Floridian*.<sup>\*</sup> With the first class we have no concern. It is spoken only by the Eskimaux. The others are intended to comprehend all the dialects, which are found in this part of the continent.

The great division of the French writers was into the *Huron*, the *Algonquin*, and the *Sioux* languages; and the first reflection, which strikes us, is, whether anything is gained by this new classification. Of the dialects spoken in the south, and which Mr Heckewelder denominates *Floridian*, such as the Creek, the Choctaw, Cherokee, and Chickasaw, we know too little to hazard an opinion; and far too little presumptuously to determine, whether they are primitive or derivative. Ignorance is preferable to error, and as Mr Heckewelder furnishes no authority for this branch of his general synopsis, and acknowledges (p. 113) 'that we know very little about the southern Indians,' we may safely dismiss, for some future opportunity, all considerations connected with them. They may, or they may not, be radically different from the other languages.

and it would be difficult to find it, either speculatively or practically, in any other place, than this Delaware school of ethics. Crawford asks Wingenund if their former friendship still continued; to which the latter very stoically replies, 'It would be the same, were you in your proper place and not here.'

In page 311, in another dialogue, an Indian is made to say, 'I am a kind of Chief;' and p. 313, 'How much meat would my wife have dried, how much tallow saved and sold, or exchanged for salt, flour, tea, and chocolate!' He, who can believe that such conversations actually took place, must be left to correct his opinions in the school of experience.

Tarhé, or the Crane, the late principal Chief of the Wyandots, and one of the most respectable Indians whom we ever knew, has more than once related to us all the incidents attending the death of Colonel Crawford. Wingenund and the Delawares, in the circumstances preceding that transaction, did not occupy the stations assigned them in Mr Heckewelder's history. The Wyandots fought the battle and gained the victory. They, however, relinquished the murder of Crawford to the Delawares, because the latter were importunate in their demands for his surrender to them.

Tarhé, or the Crane, is the Chief, who is stated by Mr Heckewelder to have murdered Leather Lips, in obedience to the orders of the Prophet. No order was ever issued by the Prophet to Tarhé. The rank, character, and authority of the Wyandot Chief forbade such an interposition, and his feelings and principles would have prevented his interference, had the attempt been made to influence him. Leather Lips was killed during the delusion, which prevailed among the Indians, after their general convocation at Greenville, to hear the doctrines of the Prophet.

<sup>\*</sup> See Heckewelder's Historical Account, Chap. IX.

The Huron, or as Mr Heckewelder terms it, the Iroquois, is certainly one of the original languages spoken by the Indians of the United States. It is confined to the Wyandots, the Iroquois, and their kindred tribes. The attempt to reduce the Sioux language, under the same general head, could have originated only in the very defective materials, which Mr Heckewelder possessed. The languages comprehended in that class, and spoken by the Sioux, the Winebagoes, the Joways, the Ottos, the Missouries, are radically different from the Huron. And what reason is given, for this dismissal of one of the general divisions of the received classification, and for ranging the Hurons and Sioux as branches of the same family? No vocabulary is inserted or referred to; nothing but the *sic volo* to satisfy the inquirer. In page 390, indeed, the facts are given by Mr Heckewelder, in support of this hypothesis, and most strange they are. It is there suggested, that the Naudowessies or Sioux, and the Hurons or Wyandots, are the same people, because there are three rivers, which we call Huron, and which the Chippewas call Naduwewi, or Naudowessie Sipi, in the vicinity of Detroit.

Nautowa is the Chippewa name for the Wyandots, and Assigona for the Iroquois. In the plural *Nautowake* and *Assigonake*. Their true name for the Sioux is *Bwoinuk*; but Naudowessie is the Chippewa word for *enemy*, and as the Sioux have for generations carried on war against them, this appellation is sometimes emphatically given to them by the Chippewas. The name of the rivers referred to by Mr Heckewelder is Nautowa Sepe, or *River of the Wyandots*, and probably took its rise from some local occurrence connected with them. The Sioux and the Wyandots, as we can testify from our own observation, are different from each other in appearance, local residence, many important traits of character and manners, languages, and in everything, which, in the present state of our knowledge, constitutes Indian national identity.

Mr Duponceau's opinion of the harmony and music of the Wyandot language struck us as remarkable. Of all the languages spoken by man, since the confusion of tongues at the tower of Babel, it least deserves this character. It is harsh, guttural, and undistinguishable; filled with intonations, that seem to start from the speaker with great pain and effort. It

is a well known fact, that no man ever became master of it, after he had arrived at years of maturity ; and its acquisition is universally considered upon the frontier as a hopeless task. We cannot but suspect our friends, ‘Armstrong and Walker,’ of *playing old soldiers*, and giving a mellifluous twang to their speech, to which it had no legitimate pretensions.

Mr Duponceau displays much philological acuteness, and an entire knowledge of the principles of universal grammar ; and he deserves great credit for the ardor, with which he has devoted himself to these tedious and laborious investigations, many of which are ably and successfully conducted. But he is evidently much given to classification ; he began these inquiries apparently with a strong predisposition for admiration, and with high expectations, that new and important principles would be developed. ‘What,’ says he, ‘would Tibullus or Sappho have given, to have had at their command a word at once so tender and so expressive !’ And what is the word, which has such power to kindle his enthusiasm ? It is one, which, in its true orthography, if it sounds to the Muses as it does to our dull ears, would put to flight every poetical effusion ; *Wulamalessohalian*, ‘Thou who makest me happy.’ The word should be written and pronounced, *Walemulsoo-hauleun*, or *Walemulsoo hauleun*, for we are strongly inclined to think, that liberties have been taken in these combinations, not wholly justified by the Delaware language. The infinitive of the verb is said, by Mr Duponceau, as quoted from Zeisberger, to be *Wulamalessohen*, ‘to make happy.’ Hence,

Wulamalessohalid,	He who makes me happy.
Wulamalessohalquon,	He who makes thee happy.
Wulamalessohalat,	He who makes him happy.
Wulamalessohalian,	Thou who makest me happy.

As the only variations, by which the pronouns are expressed in these cases, are *alid*, *alquon*, *alat*, *alian*, these must respectively mean, ‘he who me,’ ‘he who thee,’ ‘he who him,’ ‘thou who me.’ There are no pronominal affixes, nor do either of these syllables indicate the separable, or inseparable pronominal suffixes. There is no word for *who*, in the whole range of the Indian languages, as far as we are acquainted with them, and there is certainly none in the Delaware. Into whatever elements these terminations may be resolved, the meaning, rendered necessary by the subjoined



translations, cannot be given to them. There is, through the whole book, such a want of precision in the translations, and such a confusion of Delaware and Munsee words, as render the deductions very unsatisfactory.

Mr Heckewelder's reply to Mr Duponceau's inquiries, respecting some analagous word in the Delaware, to the word *morituri* in Latin, affords another illustration in point. He seems unwilling, that any syntactical forms should be found, which do not exist in the Delaware, and produces examples *pari passu*. Not certainly with the slightest disposition to misrepresent, but because the subject was not very familiar to him, and because slight analogies are easily traced between languages, the most remote in their principles. Mr Heckewelder says, (p. 423,) that there is a Delaware word, *Elumi-angellatschik*, which means, 'those who are on the point of dying, or who are about to die.' The word meant to be written here, is Alumeengelutcheek, but it has been evidently formed to meet the case, and formed upon erroneous principles. *Alemee* is an adverb, and means *about*. Mr Heckewelder calls it *Elumi*, and says it is derived from the verb *N'dallemi*, which means, 'I am going about (something.)' *N'dallemi Wickheen*, 'I am going to build.' There is no such verb in the Delaware language as *dallemi*. The *N'* is the pronominal sign of *Nee*, *I*. The *d* is inserted in all cases after this sign, where the next word begins with a vowel. *Alemee* is the adverb, which generally, in the arrangement of Indian sentences, precedes the verb. *Ungelukeek* is from *Ungel*, to die, with the pronominal sign suffixed, *ukeek*, or *keek*, they, which we believe is confined in this form to neuter verbs, and retains or drops the *u*, as euphony may require. *Tsh*, which indicates the future, is not used in this combination. The word *Alemee* sufficiently indicates, that the time is about to commence. The word, therefore, intended to be formed by Mr Heckewelder, should be written *Alemee ungelukeek*, and, literally translated, means, 'about they die.' So much for analogy.

There is, in all our Indian languages, a strong tendency to combination. We believe they were originally monosyllabic in their formation, and extremely limited in their application. Even now at least one fourth part of the Chippewa words are monosyllables. As the poverty of these languages be-

came apparent, and necessity required the introduction of new terms, they were formed by the combination of words already existing. It is not easy to define the limits of this principle, nor to analyse the rules of its application. Some letters are omitted, and the changes are frequently so great, as to render it difficult to reduce the word to its original elements. Mr Heckewelder has given many examples of this process, but too often with the negligence, which characterises his work. Mr Duponceau exclaims in a quotation from Göethe, 'O how a nation is to be envied, that can express such delicate shades of thought in one single word.' Here follow other examples.

Machelemuxowagan,	Honor, the being honored.
Gettemagelemuxowagan,	The receiving favor, mercy, tenderness.
Mamschalgussiwagan,	The being held in remembrance.
Amangachgeningussowagan,	The being raised or elevated by praise.
Mamamchtschimgussowagan,	The being insulted.

Pronounce these who can. We eschew the task. It is idle to talk of such words. Every language may have as many, as the most ecstatic philologist could require. It is only to combine the words together, and when the combination ceases, there is an end to the compound word, and not before. But little would be gained for the ear, or the mind, by such a process.

In page 368, we have,

Wuskilenno,	A young man,
Kigeyilenno,	An aged man,
Gichtochqueu,	An aged woman.

Wooskee is *young*, and Lunno is *man*, and the word given as a combination by Mr Heckewelder is pronounced *Wooskee lunno*, and is as much two words, as young man in the English language. 'Kigeyilenno' should be written *Khiki*, old, *Lunno*, man. 'Gichtochqueu' should be *Khiki*, old, *Ohkwaa*, (not Ochqueu,) woman. The unsettled orthography adopted in this work conveys to the reader very imperfect notions of the sounds of the words.

In the translation of works from one language to another, it is commonly the object of the translator to preserve the spirit

of his author, and to avoid the introduction of foreign idioms. But in inquiries into the comparative principles of different languages, words should be literally rendered; and this precision can alone give value to these investigations. Mr Heckewelder has violated this rule, and to such a degree as greatly to impair the utility of his work.

In page 422, *Eliwulek* is said to be, 'He who is above everything.' The expression should be Aloo Woolituk, from *Aloowee*, more, and *Woolit*, good. The *uk* is the mark of the superlative degree; so that *Aloo woolituk* is 'most good.' *Eluwantowit* is translated, 'God above all.' The word should be *Aloo wontoowit*, and is formed from *Aloowee*, more, and *Katunatoowit*, a compound, of whose elements we are ignorant, but which means God; so that *Aloo wontoowit* is, 'more God.'

*Eluwiahoolgussit* is translated, 'The beloved of all things,' (p. 423.) It should be Alooee ahoalkooseet, 'more he is loved.' *Eluwitschanessik* is said to be, 'the strongest of all.' It should be Alooee tsharnesseek, 'more he is strong.' *Eluwischiechsit*, 'the supremely good,' should be Alooeeek sheekseet, 'most he is good.'

Again, (p. 454,) it is said, that *N'dellemuske* means, 'I am going away.' This word is formed from the pronominal sign *N'*, I, the adverb *Alemee*, about, and *bumskau*, go, and should be rendered, 'I about go.' So *Ickalli aal* is said to be, 'away with you.' *Ikarle* means there, and *awl* is a verb, which means to go or come, properly, *to move*, and this expression should be translated, 'there move.'

In page 458, *N'dapi aman*, is rendered, 'I come from fishing with a hook and line.' *Aman* on the same page is rendered a fish hook. So that the word *Aman*, must mean fishing with a hook and line, and a fish hook. But this incongruity is to be found, not in the Delaware language, but in Mr Heckewelder's book, and results from the unjustifiable liberties taken with the translation. *N'dapi* does not mean, 'to come from.' That idea implying locomotion is conveyed by the word *Noom*, I come. *N'dapi* implies the termination of a recent act; and *Aman* is simply a fish hook. The words cannot with any propriety be used together. *Naumase* is a fish, and the participial form of that word should have

been used here, as it is upon the same page, where he says, 'I am come from taking fish with a spear,' *N'dapi notaməsi*.

In the next page several examples are given of the use of the addition *ink*.

Gauwáhenink,	At the place of fallen timbers.
Pachséyink,	In the valley.
Gámink,	On the other side of the river.

The *ink* in these instances is translated *at*, *in*, and *on*. It is neither of these, but is a mere sign of locality. A Delaware cannot express that operation of the verb upon the object, which is indicated in many of the ancient languages, by inflections, or cases, and in the modern, by prepositions. He cannot discriminate between, *in* the house, and *out* of the house, and *over* the house, and *under* the house. This strange poverty in languages, abounding with many useless variations, is supplied by gesticulation only; and no man has ever seen an Indian in conversation, without being sensible, that the head, and the hands, and the body, are all put in requisition to aid the tongue in the performance of its appropriate duty.

In our Indian languages, we have almost everything yet to learn. Till within a few years, our whole stock of information comprised only a few meagre vocabularies, collected here and there, and written with such an unsettled orthography, as to render them almost useless. Recently the subject has excited greater attention, and several grammars, with more or less merit, have been published. We trust these inquiries will be pursued, and at all events, that this almost only enduring memorial of Indian existence, will not be suffered to pass away unheeded and forgotten.

The range of thought of our Indian neighbors is extremely limited. Of abstract ideas they are almost wholly destitute. They have no sciences, and their religious notions are confused and circumscribed. They have but little property, less law, and no public offences. They soon forget the past, improvidently disregard the future, and waste their thoughts, when they do think, upon the present. The character of all original languages must depend, more or less, upon the wants, means, and occupations, mental and physical, of the people who speak them, and we ought not to expect to find the complicated refinements of polished tongues, among those of our Indians. He, who sits down to these investigations with such

an expectation, will certainly rise from his task disappointed. It would lead us too far to give even a brief analysis of any of these languages, or to enumerate those particulars, in which they are most deficient, and which render them, in all the business of life, indeterminate in their application.

It is, however, not a little singular, that some complicated forms and strange redundancies should be found, of which it is difficult to trace the origin, or to assign the object. Among these are the combinations, by which the pronouns, actor and subject, are associated with the verb. One is prefixed, and the other suffixed; and the latter is generally inseparable in its form. The active verbs cannot be used without this personal association. An Indian cannot say, 'I love,' 'I hate,' 'I fear,' abstracted from the operation of the verb upon the object. He must say, 'friend I love him;' 'enemy I hate him;' 'bear I fear him.'

It is stated in the work under notice, (p. 378,) that *N'dahoala* means 'I love,' and it is placed in the present tense of the indicative mood. On the same page, and in the first personal form, *N'dahoala* is said to be, 'I love him or her.' Such is the spirit of accommodation in which examples are furnished! The latter, however, is the true meaning of the word, and no Indian, we have reason to believe, certainly no Delaware, can express the former idea.

These combinations give to the Delaware verbs what has been called, 'the richness of their grammatical forms.' But they are certainly useless appendages, adding no precision to the language, condensing its phraseology but little, and perplexing it with an almost infinite variety of combinations. How came they here, associated with syntactical forms in other respects simple and inartificial, and useless to the people by whom they are spoken? Are they the wrecks of more polished tongues, acquired in far different circumstances, and almost lost in the lapse of ages?

In some of these languages, the adjectives are subjected to variations depending not on the gender nor degree, but on the nature of the objects to which they are applied. Among the Delawares, things which have life, whether animal or vegetable, are qualified by adjectives, different from those which are applied to inanimate objects.

## Good.

Animate.  
Woolussoo.  
Good man.  
Woolussoo Lunno.

Inanimate.  
Woolit.  
Good gun.  
Woolit Piyaughkeekun.

## Bad.

Mohtutsoo.  
Bad dog.  
Mohtutsoo M'wikona.

Mohtut.  
Bad canoe.  
Mohtut Umoghool.

In the Chippewa language, this rule is more limited in its application. It is restricted to objects with animal life, and to these it is applied only while alive.

Animate.		Inanimate.
Ugausau,	<i>little,</i>	Pungee.
Sugausau,	<i>fine,</i>	Besau.
Nohun,	<i>soft,</i>	Pekokeet.
Mindido,	<i>great,</i>	Mitchee, or Meesee.

The principle, in both, extends to verbs. The Delawares say,

Apple bring.	Water bring.
Apulish naul.	M'bee nauten.
The Chippewas say,	
Animate.	Inanimate.
Peesh,	Peedoon.
Waubemau,	Waubendon.

The Delawares have yet another division of adjectives, applicable to solids or to fluids.

Liquids.		Solids.
Tungitee,	<i>little,</i>	Kahitee.
Little milk.		Little bread.
Tungitee Noonaukun.		Kahitee Auhpone.

In many of these languages, there is a singular contrivance to indicate the death of a person, without an explicit declaration of the fact. It is considered a delicate allusion to the subject, like the Roman *vixit*, which was used by that people for the same purpose. And strange indeed is it, that this affectation of delicacy should be found among two nations in opposite hemispheres, one of whom could view with pleasure the revolting spectacles in their gladiatorial arenas, and the other could commit atrocities, which make the blood run cold.

while they are related. Neither of them could talk of death, but both could behold it in its most horrid forms.

The addition of *au* in the Delaware, or of *bun* in the Chippewa, to any proper name, indicates with certainty, that the person mentioned is dead. Tecumthé *au*, Pontiac *obun*, (the *o* is inserted to aid the sound,) could not be misunderstood by an Indian. He would instantly perceive, that his once celebrated countrymen were dead. The syllables have no relation, however, to death. We are ignorant of the root of the Delaware suffix. The Chippewa *bun* is the invariable mark of the past tense, and is probably derived from *Jaube*, being.

And here it may not be uninteresting to correct an error, into which many of our philologists have fallen, that the verb to be, *sum*, is not found in any of our Indian languages. In the Miami it is in constant use, and there can be no mistake in its application.

I am.  
Eshinekosearn.

He is.  
Eshinekosit.

In the Sioux it is,

Here I am.  
Daang mangka.

Mountain is yonder.  
Kharkhar ka karkeear.

Mr Heckewelder is incorrect, in the answer he has given to the inquiry of Mr Duponceau, respecting the existence of words in the Indian languages, confined in their use to the different sexes. These sexual words are found in almost all the languages, and it would be considered highly indelicate for either sex to use the words appropriated to the other.

The following words, in the different languages, are limited in their use by this principle.

Masculine.	IN THE CHIPPEWA.	Feminine.
Needjee.	<i>My friend.</i>	Neendongwa.
Tyau.	<i>Exclamation of surprise.</i>	N'yau.
SIOUX.		
Metsheengya.	<i>My elder brother.</i>	Meteemendo.
Metungha.	<i>My elder sister.</i>	Meetshong.
Metungshe.	<i>My younger sister.</i>	Metunghar.
Metarkarshe.	<i>My cousin.</i>	Metshashe.

Masculine.		Feminine.
	KICKAPOO.	
Neekarnar.	<i>My friend.</i>	Squa.
	SAC AND FOX.	
Neekaulau.	<i>My friend,</i> (when absent,)	Squa.
Neekaul.	<i>My friend,</i> (when present,)	Neekaul.
	OTTAWA.	
Neetshee.	<i>My friend.</i>	Ndongwa.
	POTAWATAMIE.	
Neekarn.	<i>My friend.</i>	Kwatshee.
	WYANDOT.	
N'yuteroo.	<i>My friend.</i>	Nyatzee.
W'hoo.	<i>Exclamation of surprise.</i>	Nuya.
	SHAWNESE.	
Neekarnar.	<i>My friend.</i>	Neeleemwa.
Alalewee.	<i>Expression of surprise.</i>	Waupomee.
Aumala.	<i>Expression of contempt.</i>	Ashekartshee.

It will be observed, that in these remarks, we have confined ourselves principally to the Delaware language ; because our examination of Mr Heckewelder's work necessarily restricted the range of our inquiry. Nor have we any intention to detain our readers by a general investigation of Indian languages.\*

We have already expressed our doubts, as to the classification adopted in that work ; nor are we better satisfied with the synoptical view of the American languages, given by Adelung in his 'Survey of all the known Languages and their Dialects.' This work, and its predecessor, the *Mithridates*, to which Mr Duponceau acknowledges his obligations, are monuments of the zeal, industry, and erudition of their authors. But it is to be regretted, that the defective state of their materials has led them into so many errors, in their investigations of the languages of the North American Indians. It is impossible, from any vocabularies now existing, to arrange these languages into their respective families, separating the primitive stocks from one another, and connecting the affiliated dialects, without a personal and intimate knowledge of the various tribes. Their names have been so multiplied, by the ignorance and carelessness of travellers,

\* An analysis of Mr Heckewelder's work will be found in the North American Review, No. xxiv, for June, 1819.



that great caution is necessary in their application, lest exaggerated estimates be formed of the number of these communities.

The general geographical divisions, into which the tribes are separated, in the 'Survey' of Adelung, evince an ignorance of the features of the country, and of the situation of the Indians. The southern tribes, the Creeks, Choctaws, and others, are arranged with the Iroquois; while the Northwestern Indians are connected with those of the Eastern and middle Atlantic coast; the general divisions thus crossing each other.

But the most important errors are found in the names of the tribes, and in the affinities of their dialects. The author has apparently proceeded, with the narrative of every traveller through the Indian country in his hand, and recorded the names as he found them; adjusting their connexion by their residence, by meagre vocabularies, or by the slight notices given of them. The same tribe, by these means, has different names and different associations; and a distinct appellation and peculiar dialect are given to every little local band. It is easy to conceive, that by this process, the number of the American languages may be swelled to '*twelve hundred and fourteen*,' and, in fact, to any other which the pride of discovery may require.\*

In the principal division (D,) subdivision (a,) and minor subdivision (4,) the Twightwees, or Miamies, are placed at the head of a family, which is divided into Ouyatonons and Illinois.

But the Miamies and Ouyatonons, properly Weweeatanon, and now called Weas, are bands of the same tribe, without any perceptible difference in their dialects. The Illinois tribes are not now, nor were they ever, branches of the Miami family. There is reason to think, that at a remote period, the Miamies were nearly connected with some of these tribes. But it is difficult to ascertain with precision, who were included in the general designation of Illinois Indians. The name was given them at an early day, but it was rather descriptive of the country, which they occupied,

\* For that part of Adelung's *Survey*, relating to the American languages, and referred to in the present remarks, see *North American Review*, for January, 1822. Vol. xiv. p. 135.

than of any natural association or political confederacy among its inhabitants. The Illinois tribes were stated by Charlevoix to be the Moingonas, the Peorias, the Tamarorias, the Coaquias, and the Kaskaskias. But Bossu considers the Peorias, as allies only of the Illinois. Adelung includes in the Illinois family the 'Kaskaskias, the Cahokias, the Piorias, the Kasquias,' (but another name for the Kaskaskias) 'the Mitchigamies, the Piankeshaws, the Kikapoos, the Poteouatamies, Pottawatameh, or Pattawottomi, the Outaouas, and the Chaûnis.'

Now the Kikapoos, written Kickapoos, and the Chaûnis, written Shawanos, Sawanno, Shawnee, an identity of which the author appears wholly ignorant, had already formed his second and third subdivisions, and preceded the Miamies in this general division. But they are here classed as tribes of one of the families of that nation.

The most unpardonable negligence alone could arrange the Kickapoos, the Potawatamies, the Ottawas, and the Shawnese, as members of the Illinois confederacy. Their separate existence, as independent communities, is coeval with our earliest knowledge of the Indians, and they are all well known and important tribes. And what is still worse, the Potawatamies, written Pouëteouatami, are, (in division D. c. 1. 5. ee,) placed as a branch of the Algonquin family. The Ouyatanons, already classed with the Miamies, are reintroduced under the name Ojatinon, (ff) as a separate tribe. And the Miamies themselves again make their appearance, under the name Oumami (a a) in a very subordinate situation.

In the subdivision, to which we have last alluded, the Outagamies, (c c) the Malomimis, (d d) and the Sakis, (g g) are classed with the others as affiliated tribes. But they had been before arranged, in the preceding general division, (B. c.) with slight orthographical variations. They are there called Sakies, or Saukis, Ottogamies, and Menomenes, or Folle Avoine.

This association is, in any analysis of the Indian languages, erroneous. The language of the Menomonies cannot be understood by the Sacs and Foxes, (Saukies and Ottogamies.) Whether the former speak an Algonquin dialect, or a primitive language, is a question not yet settled. But the fact is

certain, that in their intercourse with one another, they are not understood by the adjacent tribes.

In the general division (D. c. 2.  $\epsilon$ .) the Ottawas, whom we have already seen enumerated as one of the Illinois tribes, under the name Outaonas, are again introduced in the same relation to the Chippewas. The word is here written Ot-toways, Ottawas, and Wtáwas. This last is the orthography of Mr Heckewelder, and we confess our inability to pronounce it.

The Erigas, or Eries, and the Makontens, properly Mas-contens, are enumerated as existing tribes; but they have disappeared for ages, and of the Eries little was ever known, except from the relations of the other Indians.

The Osages and the Pawnees, whose languages are radically different, are classed together; and the Jowas, Ottoes, Missouries, and Winebagoes, are detached from the Sioux, with whom they are closely connected by dialect, and attached to the Osages.

The Stone Indians, (Assiniboins,) are arranged in one place with the Chippewas, and in another with the Sioux; and the Crees are enumerated as a branch of the Chippewa family, (D. c. 2.  $\beta$ .) and immediately afterwards, (D. c. 3.) under the names Knistenaux, Chinisteneaux, Christeneaux, Clisteno, they form an independent division, composed of four branches.

The Nanticokes, (C. e. 8.) a well known tribe of the Delaware stock, are assigned to the Iroquois, and constitute the eighth member of that family, which occupies a prominent station in division C. But, (in D. c. 1.  $\epsilon$ .) four tribes of the Iroquois confederacy, with their orthography slightly changed, are once more introduced; and, strange to tell, as speaking Algonquin dialects.

We have not time to analyse the arrangement of the Sioux family. Those, who are at all acquainted with the subject, will perceive what little confidence is to be placed in this classification, when they learn, that the Mahas are a tribe of the 'Naudowessies of the Plain,' that the Shians and Shianes, (both being the Cheyennes,) constitute the fifth and sixth divisions, and that the Tetongs and Sussitongs, two of the great families of the Sioux, appear as subordinate branches of the Yankton band.

These are but a part of the errors, which our limited personal knowledge of the different tribes, has enabled us to detect in the Survey of Adelung. But they satisfactorily prove, that with our present materials, we should confine our exertions to the collecting of facts, and not bewilder ourselves in attempts to discover new dialects, or to class those already known.

In the present state of our knowledge, the Wyandot, and its cognate dialects, appear to form a class of primitive languages; the Algonquin or Chippewa, another; the southern languages, a third; the Sioux, a fourth; and the Pawnee, and kindred tribes of that family, a fifth. But we speak with much doubt, and are in fact not unwilling to hazard the conjecture, that future and more extensive inquiries may possibly prove, that all these languages are affiliated, and descended from a common stock. We are certainly destitute at present of any etymological proofs of this fact, but when vocabularies are formed upon a common plan, and their orthographical principles invariably established, and when the effect produced by habits of enunciation more or less guttural, by the frequent use of certain letters and the rejection of others, by the difference of accentuation in strength and in position, by the slowness or rapidity of utterance, and by other causes, shall be fully understood and appreciated, we shall not be surprised, if affinities are discovered in all our Indian languages, for which we have not yet been prepared.

In stature, color, form of the face, high cheek bones, hazel eye, dark hair, thinness of the beard, and in their prevailing personal appearance, there is a strong resemblance among all the Indians; varied, no doubt, by certain physiognomical characteristics among different tribes, more easily perceived than described. In manners, customs, habits, opinions, traditions, religious notions, systems of education, and in their own appellations for one another, they are essentially the same people. The forms of their languages are almost identical. The same principles of regimen and concord, the same arrangement of words in sentences, the same polysyllabic combinations, and in fact every essential rule, whether anomalous or general, whether it agrees with the transatlantic languages, or differs from them, are common to all these, as far as we have been able to examine them. The deductions

from these facts we relinquish to others, contenting ourselves with the conjecture already advanced.

The Wyandots, and the various tribes of the Six Nations, speak dialects having a general affinity ; but they require interpreters in their intercourse with one another. The Chippewa, or Algonquin language, is spoken by the Chippewas, Ottawas, Potawatamies, Sacs and Foxes, Shawnese, Kickapoos, Menomonies, Miamies, and Delawares ; and these dialects approximate one another in the order of arrangement, the Chippewa being the standard dialect, and the Delaware the most remote. For the three first, no interpreter is required ; for the three next, one is convenient, but not necessary ; and the three last are too imperfectly understood by any of the others, to enable them to converse without assistance.

There is no doubt that, at the era of the discovery, a knowledge of the Chippewa, or Algonquin tongue, for they are the same, would have enabled a traveller to communicate with all the Indians, except the Wyandots and their kindred tribes, from the Penobscot to the Chesapeake, and from the Ocean to Lake Superior.

The Trans-Mississippi languages are divided into two great families. At the head of one we may place the Sioux, and of the other the Pawnee. The Sioux language is to the nations west of the Mississippi, what the Chippewa is to those east of it. That river is the boundary between these great families ; for the Winebagoes, who live upon the Fox, Ouisconsin, and Rock Rivers, are evidently intruders there. Their hereditary country was in the south west. Perhaps some branches of the Illinois family lived at a remote period upon the Des Moines. But the exceptions to the general statement are too few, to require a specific enumeration. Interpreters are convenient, and in some of these dialects are necessary, for any communication ; but we believe unerring traces of the Sioux language will be found in all the dialects, except those of the Pawnee family, extending from the Mississippi to the Indians, who roam through the country at the heads of the Missouri and Arkansas, and occupy the passes of the Rocky Mountains.

If the Sioux be assumed as the parent language, then the affinities of the dialects of that family will be exhibited in the following tabular form.

Arkansas or Quapaws.

Osages.

Kansas.

Mahas.

Poncas.

} These dialects are nearly similar,  
and the tribes, who use them, can  
understand one another without an  
interpreter.

Jowas.

Ottoes.

Missouries.

Winebagoes.

} These dialects approach the standard language  
more nearly, than those in the preceding para-  
graph. But interpreters are necessary, both be-  
tween themselves, and between them and the  
Sioux, for a distinct understanding of any subject.

The root of the word which signifies *fire*, among all these tribes, is *p'haajee*.

No affinities are known to exist between the languages of this family, and those spoken by the Pawnees and Arickaras. The two latter are nearly the same, and constitute, in the present state of our knowledge, a class of primitive languages. Their word for fire is *lactetoo*.

To shew the idioms of three of these great parent stocks, we subjoin translations of four sentences into the Chippewa, Wyandot, and Sioux languages, and retranslations into English. They are rendered as literally, as their respective idioms will permit. Full confidence may be placed in the Chippewa specimens. The others are the result of much labor, but under less favorable circumstances.

## CHIPPEWA.

1. *I wish to go with you and catch his horse.*

Appadush

weejewinaum

tshee\*

minjeminemung

opabaazhigogauzhemun

I wish

to go with you

to

take (v. a.)

his beast with solid hoofs ; (o, here  
denotes the possessive case.)

2. *We conquered our country by our bravery, and we will defend it with our strength.*

Kesoangedaäwininaum†

kau oonjee

bukenaugayung

ketukeminaun,

Keegootaumagozewinaum

dush giea oonjee

minjeeminuhmung

Our bravery,

by that

we conquered

our country, (or land,)

our storm-like strength

by that also,

we shall keep it.

\* The Chippewa particles *tshee* and *ka*, when used before verbs, give precision to them.

† The noun throughout this sentence precedes the verb.

3. *Give me some venison to put in his kettle.*

Meeshishin*	Give me
addik	deer ; (Addik is the name for <i>Reindeer</i> ,)
weeos	flesh
ka	to
podaukwawug	put in
odaukeekoong.	his kettle ; (o, indicates posses- sion.)

4. *Mr. Heckewelder's book contains many errors.*

Mukdawukooniatt	Black dress
omuzeniegun	his book, (or paper,)
gitshee na neebewoh	in many places has plenty
keewoneinoomugud	errors, (or mistakes,) in it.

## WYANDOT.

## 1.

Ndee	I
yaaghre	wish
sheeharyate	go
ateewaherkyee	with you
ahateezheendaöo	catch him
hoosenear‡	his slave
yoosheta.	beast that carries upon his back.

## 2.

Auwaütendengendee	We conquered
aunyoomitsarmee	our land
n'dia	by that
newotsarndeetar ;	our bravery ;
aunyoomitsar	our land
nostart	keep it
n'dia	by that
nemauwishromee	our strength.

## 3.

N'dee	Me
tonoont	give
skinootoo	deer
wautsau	flesh
toosoontrok	put in
hoonaöar	his kettle. ( <i>ar</i> indicates posses- sion.)

\* In this sentence, the Indian, unlike No. 2, is constructed as an English sentence, the verb preceding the noun.

† The Chippewas substitute descriptive terms for English proper names.

‡ The Wyandots always prefix this word to the names of domestic animals in a state of servitude.

Honyoomauauk  
hoozhutooshrumar  
ooreewauroonyoo  
yarndeeyooherunt

Toakeen

oa

nee

atshar

kar

tau

shoongktunkar

ongee

uzarpeekta

Ongeetau

markotesheepee

wondeetargear

ongee

oeyumpeetsher

warshargear

ongee

hn' doneetsharpeekta

Tarkhinjar

tshonetshar

mar

koo

tau

tshaaghar

ane

orärhnarnkaakta

Tar

wausheetshoo

tau

woärpee

eetsheenshnee

otar

4.

White man  
his book  
many places  
mistakes.

SIoux.

1.

I wish  
with  
you  
go out  
and  
his  
horse  
we  
will take.

2.

Our  
lands  
bravely  
we  
have conquered,  
strongly  
we  
will maintain.

3.

Deer  
flesh  
me  
give  
his  
kettle  
into  
I will put.

4.

The  
white man  
his  
book  
errors, (or mistakes,)  
much.

We subjoin two more Chippewa specimens.

1. *Why do you not behave better and sit still?*

Auneeshween nuh?

neebwaukausewun

Why not, (includes pronoun,)

possess sense, (noun, verb, & pro.)



pisaun	still
tshee	to
nemudubeyun	sit. (v. a. includes the pronoun, and in present tense.)

The sense of the English is rendered into Indian with force and sufficient precision. But the analytical mode adopted gives the *retranslation* a stiff and faulty aspect.

2. *I do not think there is any such thing as virtue.*

Kauween	} Not do I (negative mode of assertion, very common.)
neen	
nindenaindum	think
kago	anything
iauseenoan*	exists like
minno	good
izheewaubizeewin	life. (Noun indicated by <i>win</i> .)

Our personal knowledge of the southern languages is confined to the Cherokee, and we shall not, therefore, hazard any conjectures respecting them. We are inclined to believe, however, that they have a general family resemblance; but whether any connexion exists between them, and the other great families, we are ignorant. We found in the Cherokee the same general principles of formation, which distinguish the others.

Whoever makes the experiment will discover, that much stronger analogies exist between dialects of our Indians, as they have been written, than as they are spoken. Languages, which appear almost identical upon paper, are yet in conversation understood with great difficulty. The causes of this difference have been already stated, but their operation must be felt before they can be fully appreciated.

It is easy to conceive, that roving bands of savages in the hunter state, may separate for very trivial causes, and that dialects may soon be formed, which will gradually recede from one another, until all etymological traces of their common origin can with difficulty be discerned. Languages, which are not fixed by letters, must be liable to perpetual fluctuations; and as the intercourse between different tribes is diminished by mutual hostilities, or by distance, their dialects will rapidly recede from one another. In this manner, many dialects, and possibly all, have been formed.

\*This is one of those verbal Indian forms, which admit some latitude in the translation.

The Foxes have a traditionary legend upon this subject, which we are tempted to give, because it happily explains their opinion of the mode, in which these separations of natural and political connexion, and consequently of languages, have been brought about.

Many years since, say they, two bands of our people were living near each other. The Chief of one of these bands wanted some Indian tobacco,\* and sent one of his young men to the Chief of the other band, to procure some. The latter, being a little offended with his relation, told the young man, he would send no tobacco, and that he had long tusks, intimating he was disposed to quarrel. The young man replied, that the tobacco was wanted for a feast. The Chief then took up a pair of *Apukwine*, (large bone needles, made of the ribs of the elk, and used in the manufacture of rush mats,) and throwing his pipe upon the ground, put these like tusks upon each side of his mouth, and said, 'My teeth are long and strong, and will bite.' The young man returned and communicated the result to his Chief, who assembled his warriors and said, 'My warriors, let us prepare to pull out these long tusks, lest they should grow sharp and bite us.' He then directed them to accompany him in an attack upon the other party, and they proceeded to form an ambuscade near their camp. As the day dawned, the Chief said, 'It is now light enough, we can see to pull out his teeth.' The attack commenced, and many were destroyed. This is the way, says the tradition, in which the great Indian family became divided. Till then they were one people.†

\* Called by the Canadians *Tabac du diable*, or *Feningue*, and by the Chippewa, *Inine Samau*, or *Man tobacco*. It was formerly cultivated by the Indians, and used in all their feasts and religious ceremonies.

† Much additional knowledge of the Indian languages may be expected to be gradually gained. Mr Duple and Mr Pickering, philologists of whom the country may be justly proud, have devoted much of their time to the subject, and are still pursuing it with ardor, to the extent of their opportunities. Mr Pickering has constructed with immense pains, a Grammar of the Cherokee, which is now in press. All attempts of this sort are of great importance in fixing grammatical forms, and establishing first principles.

In the fourth volume of the Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, is an essay by Mr Pickering, proposing a uniform alphabet for the Indian languages, an object of much importance in establishing such an orthography, as to ensure useful results from a comparison of different vocabularies. In the 9th vol. 2d Series of the Massachusetts Historical Collection, is published Eliot's Indian Grammar, accompanied with valuable notes and observations, by the above gentlemen. It is there stated, that this 'Grammar was presented

Mr John Dunn Hunter's book, has attracted some attention in this country and England. In the sixtyfirst number of the London Quarterly Review, is an article complimentary to the veracity and fidelity of Hunter. We were at first unable to conjecture why a work, purporting to be written by an American, was so kindly received. But it was not long before we discovered the strong claims, which it had to the favor of the Reviewers. Hunter elevates the Indian character far above its true standard, and he depresses that of the frontier settlers as far below it. He whines about the purchase of land, and the introduction of whiskey, as though these were not among the least of the evils, to which the calamities of the Indians are attributable. But these assertions may possibly account for the complacent humor of the Reviewers towards Hunter, in regard to the manner in which he has performed his task. 'We shall only remark farther,' say they, 'of Hunter's book, that in general his description of Indian manners and customs are minutely accurate.' 'There is nothing suspicious in Hunter's narrative. The style is that of a man unaccustomed to write, simple and precise, but not altogether free from vulgarisms and barbarisms.'

This whole article is an admirable specimen of the critical sagacity of the Quarterly. The writers upon all subjects speak *ex cathedra*, but in this article they display more than usual dogmatism. Some of their facts have probably been furnished by a subaltern officer, who may have travelled from Detroit to the Miami, in the campaign of 1813, on the north-western frontier; and these have been eked out by crude speculations and bitter invective. In examining the causes, which have heretofore impeded the acquisition of correct knowledge, on topics connected with the Indians, the Reviewers say, 'Until of late years, we could scarcely expect to possess any other instrument of communication with the Indian tribes than these, for educated Englishmen could be very rarely thrown into contact with them.' This is true Quarterly modesty. And so where an educated Englishman does not go, nothing can

to the public, as part of a series of tracts respecting the Indian languages, which it is the intention of the Historical Society to publish, from time to time, as circumstances shall permit.' Accordingly, in the next volume, (X) Dr Edwards's Observations on the Language of the Muhhekanew Indians is published, together with a body of learned and copious notes by Mr Pickering. It is presumed the subject will be continued in other volumes of this work.

be known ! We presume this article is the result of the observations of one of these 'educated Englishmen,' and the world will probably before long be favored with important discoveries, which it must be content to owe to the same prolific source. Feeling a deep interest in the reputation of the Quarterly, we cannot avoid suggesting to its contributors the expediency of confining themselves to their poor laws and savings' banks, and to other topics more immediately within the sphere of their own observation ; and of being cautious how they discuss subjects separated from them by an extensive ocean, and interminable forests, even with the aid of an 'educated Englishman' to furnish facts which never existed.

Hunter has inserted what he calls a speech, delivered by Tecumthé to the Osages. And it is but a poor comment on the *tact* and judgment of the reading community, that this speech, and the reflections in which Hunter says he indulged on his arrival at the Pacific Ocean, have been already quoted into three respectable works, as valuable specimens of aboriginal taste and feeling.\* The speech is lauded in the Quarterly, and the circumstances stated by Hunter, respecting its delivery, furnish, in the opinion of the Reviewers, a proof of his veracity. It is thought impossible for Hunter to have known, that Tecumthé made a visit to the Southwest in 1812, unless he had acquired a knowledge of this fact from the Indians. 'Now we happen to know,' say the Reviewers, 'that Tecumthé did certainly, after the capture of Detroit by our forces, in 1812, quit our head quarters there ; that, proceeding down the Mississippi, he traversed an immense extent of Indian country, and employed himself with various success in animating his brethren by his eloquence to unite against the Americans, and that he did not return to the Michigan Territory, until the following January.' *Now we happen to know*, that Tecumthé did not leave Detroit for the Mississippi country in 1812. *We happen to know*, that on the 27th of September 1811, he arrived at Vincennes, and sought an interview with General Harrison. At the discussions, which took place during this interview, he displayed the most hostile spirit, and the result being unsatisfactory to him, he descended the Wabash with a small party in a canoe. He was himself a half Creek, his father being of that tribe,

\* See the account of this speech in Hunter's Narrative, pp. 51—56.

and between them and the Shawnese a friendly intercourse had long subsisted. His object was to excite the Creeks to hostilities against the United States, and eventually to form a general Indian confederacy, under the protection of the British.

That Tecumthé himself, and the disaffected band of the Shawnese, who adhered to him, had been tampered with by the British agents, no man can doubt, who was so situated as to observe the course of events upon the frontier, or who has examined the mass of evidence, submitted by the President to Congress in his message of June 11, 1812, respecting the origin and progress of our difficulties with the Indians. Tecumthé returned from his tour in December, and remained with his party during the winter of 1811, 12. In the spring of 1812, as the note of preparation became louder and louder, he was invited to Malden. He left Fort Wayne for that place on the second of July, and arrived there about the eighth or ninth.\* He was in most of the engagements upon that frontier, during the two succeeding campaigns, and never was again further west than the Tippecanoe.

The Reviewers, with their characteristic accuracy, state, that the Indians, 'lulled into security by confidence in the supernatural powers of their prophet, and neglecting that caution, which is generally so marked a trait in the Indian character, were surprised by an American corps in the dead of the night on the banks of the Wabash, and almost annihilated. Tecumthé, with a small number of warriors, escaped the massacre; but it is probable, that the survivors were too few to preserve the separate existence of a tribe; for while he swayed the whole Indian body, Tecumthé could scarcely number a score of immediate followers of his own people.'

In this paragraph are almost as many misrepresentations as lines. *We happen to know*, and the whole American people know, that the troops under General Harrison did not attack the Indians. The army encamped in the vicinity of the Prophet's Town, under the expectation, and with assurances from the Indians, that the difficulties would be adjusted at a

\* For some days preceding his departure from Fort Wayne, he had been in conference with the agent there, on the state of affairs between the United States and Great Britain, and on the evening of the first of July he promised, that he would return to the Wabash, quietly resume his ordinary occupations, and avoid any participation in the approaching conflict.

council to be held the succeeding day. But the General had been trained in the school of experience. He was able and cautious, and his troops were brave. And to these qualities they owed their final safety. Before the dawn of day, the Indians commenced a fierce assault upon the camp, and after much slaughter were driven from the field. A nocturnal surprise of an encampment of Indians by a corps of civilised troops, every step of whose progress has been vigilantly watched, is a manœuvre to be found only in the tactics of the Quarterly; and is probably among the discoveries, for which we are indebted to the 'educated Englishman.' Tecumthé was not present at the engagement. He was then on his southern mission. It is certain he did not anticipate a battle, during his absence, and it is probable he still calculated on the system of forbearance, which had marked the conduct of the American government towards the Indians. His brother, the Prophet, had the principal direction of affairs; an influence, which he owed to his talents and his religious character, rather than to his military qualifications. Mengoatowa, a Kickapoo chief, who was killed, and Waweapakoosa, a Winebago chief, commanded in the action, as far as any command was exercised. But where there is no combination of movement, and each individual is left to act for himself, very little authority is necessary, and very little is exerted.

The Reviewers say, that many Shawnese were killed in the action, and to this they attribute the weakness of the band, which accompanied Tecumthé, when he joined the British. Admirable historians! But one Shawnese was killed in the action.\* The loss fell on the Kickapoos, Winebagoes, and Potawatamies. *We happen to know* why Tecumthé's party was so weak, and we will communicate the cause, for the benefit of the author of the next tirade upon this subject in the Quarterly. Tecumthé was a disaffected man, and had seceded from the '*legitimate*' authority of his tribe. All the chiefs, and almost all the warriors, were opposed to his plans. They saw, that these were fraught with ruin to their people, and believed them to have originated in a system of self aggrandisement. Tecumthé was a *novus homo*, not entitled

\* Paaksgee was killed; and three other Shawnese, namely, Kathooskaka, Mamatseka, and Maipokseka were wounded.

to any hereditary authority ; and he regarded with jealousy the influence of the lawful chiefs. The great body of the tribe adhered with unshaken fidelity to the cause of the United States, during the whole contest, and time has proved the wisdom of their measures. They are now living comfortably, upon a large reservation secured to them in a fertile part of Ohio ; while Tecumthé fell in a cause, in which he had no interest, and his son and brother are outcasts from their people, receiving no aid from the British government, and anxious to rejoin their connexions.\* Like all other Indians, who have placed their faith in the same trust, when their services ceased to be useful, they ceased to be regarded or rewarded.

We are the less apprehensive of leading our readers, or being ourselves led into error on this topic, or on any other connected with the history or objects of Tecumthé, as the Prophet his brother, and his son are sitting with us, while we are writing these remarks, and as they have freely disclosed to us their past history and present situation. We have been not a little amused, at the shrewd observations of the Prophet, respecting the ignorance of the Reviewers in the article, which we have caused to be explained to him.

Tecumthé has obtained a celebrity, such as has fallen to the lot of few of his countrymen. For this he was indebted, not less to adventitious circumstances, than to his own physical and mental endowments. He was a man of more enlarged views, than are often found among the Indian chiefs ; a brave warrior, and a skillful leader ; politic in his measures, and firm in his purposes. But he was jealous and ambitious, and prepared to sacrifice the happiness of his people to his own impracticable projects. His connexion with the British contributed, however, more than any other circumstance, to the celebrity he enjoyed. He was an instrument in their hands ; and it was their interest to give him an importance, true or false, by which they could wield the savage force, which they had collected. With this view he was invited, as the Quarterly states, to the British General's table, and with this view he was made the distributor of the presents, lavished upon the Indians. One of the British

\* Since the above was written, they have left Canada, and removed to the Shawnese reservation in Ohio, radically cured, if we may credit their own declarations, of their Anglo Mania.

armed vessels was named the Tecumthé, and another the Nawash. This Nawash was an Ottawa, elevated to importance by the same system, and with the same object. He has long since ceased to be useful, and now lives in utter insignificance among his tribe, upon the Miami in the Michigan Territory.\*

The Prophet, the brother of Tecumthé, was an able coadjutor. His character has not been well understood. He is shrewd, and sagacious, and well qualified to acquire an influence over those about him. We are inclined to think, that at the commencement of his career he was a fanatic, who had 'seen visions and dreamed dreams,' and who believed the doctrines he professed and inculcated. This practical conquest of the imagination over the reason is not very rare, even in civilised life; and there is a singular feature in the system of Indian education, by which its occurrence is encouraged and promoted.† Subsequent events in life are materially affected by this process, and vivid impres-

\* *In the division of labor among the Indians, the composition and delivery of speeches, are not often entrusted to the same person. In all important questions, the Chiefs previously assemble and prepare the speech, which is to be delivered. And here the influence of talent and authority is exerted and felt. But the public delivery of the speech is a mere act of memory on the part of the orator. The addresses, for which Tecumthé has had credit, were prepared principally by Walk-in-the-water, the Grey-eyed-man, and Isidore, three Wyandot Chiefs; and the celebrated remonstrance to Proctor, against his evacuation of the country upon the Detroit River, and in which he was told, that he appeared like a dog running off with his tail between his legs, was thus prepared in the house of Mrs Walker, a respectable half Wyandot woman, upon whose authority we state the fact. Tecumthé was not an able composer of speeches. We understand he was particularly deficient in those powers of the imagination, to which we have been indebted for the boldest flights of Indian eloquence. He was sometimes confused, and generally tedious and circumlocutory.*

We have in our possession ample materials for a biographical sketch of this celebrated chief. Hereafter we may embody them in an article for our Journal.

† This remarkable institution should receive a minute examination. It is admirably contrived to render the Indians reckless of consequences, and its influence is not less powerful, than the sternest principle of fatalism. The tutelary genii guard the lives of their favorites, and the Eagle receives upon his beak the balls of their enemies.

The process commences before the age of puberty, and continues for a shorter or longer term, as the revelations are more or less propitious. The appearance of some animals foreshow a happy destiny, while others, and particularly snakes, portend misfortune. When the dreams are fortunate, the discipline is terminated; but when otherwise, it is interrupted, and after some time renewed, with the hope of a more favorable result. If, however, in this hope, they continue to be disappointed, their situation is remediless, and they must submit with fortitude to the calamities which await them.



sions are formed, which are never eradicated. This result is produced by a system of watching and fasting, rigorous, painful, and long continued. During this period, which is called the time of 'fasting,' in Chippewa, *Makatea*, many rites are practised to render the lessons impressive, and to excite the feelings to a proper degree of susceptibility. The guardian *Manitou* finally appears in a dream, assuming the shape of some animal, and is ever after during life the object of adoration. The real or imaginary qualities of this animal indicate the character, and the proper business in life of the dreamer. If it is an eagle, he must be a warrior; if a wolf, a hunter; and if a turkey buzzard, a prophet or physician.

It is probable, that the opinions of the Shawnese Prophet, in mature age, were materially affected by this hallucination, and that when he began his career, he was as much the dupe of his own feelings, as were any of his hearers. His conduct was certainly incompatible with any rational policy, that he can be supposed to have adopted; and of the immense numbers, who from time to time assembled at Greenville, and elsewhere, to hear his rhapsodies, many perished from hunger, and none attempted to aid him in any project, hostile to the United States, till long after his influence was on the wane. The Shawnese, whatever may have been their origin, were intruders upon the Northwestern Indians. They owned no portion of the country, and, consequently, were entitled to no part of the consideration paid for the cession of it. A principle of international law, which should prevent the sale of land by one tribe, without the consent of all, could not but be advantageous to those, who had no other title than sufferance to the district they occupied. This was a cardinal principle in the policy of Tecumthé, and the opportunity, furnished by the fanaticism of his brother, opened the way for more enlarged views, and eventually afforded the means, as he thought, of accomplishing them.

These prophets, as they are improperly termed, frequently make their appearance among the Indians, and acquire a wonderful ascendancy over them. They are preachers, prophets, and physicians, and they pretend to a direct communication, with all the superior and inferior deities in the Indian mythology.

But to return once more to the book in question. Mr John Dunn Hunter is one of the boldest imposters, that has appeared in the literary world, since the days of Psalmanazar. His book, however, is without the ingenuity and learning, which, like redeeming qualities, rendered the *History of Formosa* an object of rational curiosity. It is a worthless fabrication, and, in this respect, beneath the dignity of criticism ; compiled, no doubt, by some professional book maker, partly from preceding accounts, and partly from the inventions of Hunter. Our only motive for introducing the work into this article is, that, by exposing so gross an imposition, the public may be put upon its guard for the future, and not give credit to tales supported neither by intrinsic nor extrinsic evidence. The letters, which we shall presently introduce, place beyond doubt the imposture of Hunter. And here we might safely dismiss the subject ; but a cursory examination of a few of his more prominent statements, may elucidate some important traits of Indian manners, and will at all events detect the utter ignorance of the writer of the article in the *Quarterly*.

Hunter says he left the Osages in 1816, when he was nineteen or twenty years of age, and, as he recollects the incidents of his capture, he was then probably four or five. He was, therefore, taken about 1800, or 1801, and as the outrage was committed by a party of Kickapoos, the residence of his father must have been in Indiana or Illinois. His description of the scene shows, that it was an act of the most determined hostility. There were the war whoop and the yells, ' the massacre of parents and connexions, the pillage of their property, and the incendious destruction of their dwellings.' This was in a period of profound peace. Such an aggression in 1800, or 1801, would have electrified the whole country west of the mountains. We have our own distinct recollections, and what is still better, we have the authority of General Harrison to justify us in saying, that no such incident occurred. The Kickapoos were quiet from the signature of Wayne's treaty, till the commencement of the difficulties with Tecumthé and the Prophet.

Hunter proceeds to state, that the party of Kickapoos, who took him, were themselves attacked and destroyed by the Pawnees, into whose possession he then fell. In 1800, and

for some time after, not a Kickapoo lived west of the Mississippi. They occupied the plains about the Illinois, and between that river and the Wabash. They are separated from the Pawnees by extensive districts, and by the Osages, Kansas, and Missouries. The Pawnees and Kickapoos have never been brought into contact with each other, nor have they ever been engaged in mutual hostilities.

After residing some time with the Pawnees, by a similar freak of fortune, he was thrown into the possession of the Kansas. We have then an affecting description of the 'venerable Chief Tohut-che-nau.' Where this *respectable man* lived, except in these pages, we have not been able to ascertain. There never has been a Chief of that name known among the Kansas, nor is the word itself, nor any thing like it, to be found in the Kansas language.

A transfer to the Osages terminated this pilgrimage from tribe to tribe. And with them he continued, until his final restoration to civilised life. It was during this period, that Tecumthé is said to have made his visit to the Osages, and delivered his celebrated speech.

The Osage tribe occupy the immense plains, extending from the Missouri and the Arkansas to the Rocky Mountains. They are the Ishmaelites of the Trans-Mississippi country. Their hand is against every man, and every man's hand is against them. The nations of the Algonquin family, the Shawnese, Delawares, Miamies, Kickapoos, and also the southern Indians, have been at war with them for ages. So late as 1818, we witnessed the arrival of a party of Shawnese, among their own people, from a hostile expedition against the Osages. The scalps, which they bore, evinced their success, and the shouts of the multitude left no doubt of the deep interest they felt, in the destruction of their enemies. No Shawnese had, in 1812, ever visited the Osages as a friend, nor was Tecumthé ever within many hundred miles of a party of that nation.

But the most wonderful event in the life of Hunter, is his journey to the Pacific. And wonderful indeed is it, that a party of thirtysix Kansas and Osages should have reached the brink of that distant ocean. No Osages or Kansas ever traversed the Rocky Mountains. Their inveterate enemies, the Alyetans, guard those passes, and even beyond, they must

encounter many hostile tribes, before they can reach the ocean. And this desperate expedition was undertaken with no other object, that we can discover, than to indulge in sentimental reflections and descriptions, which are said by the Quarterly to have 'great simplicity and beauty'!

Hunter's impudence is exceeded only by his ignorance. He says, 'The unbounded view of waters, the incessant and tremendous dashing of the waves along the shore, accompanied with a noise resembling the roar of loud and distant thunder, filled our minds with the most sublime and awful sensations, and fixed on them as immutable truths the tradition we had received from our old men, that the great waters divide the residence of the Great Spirit, from the temporary abodes of his red children. We here contemplated in silent dread the immense difficulties, over which we should be obliged to triumph after death, before we could arrive at those delightful hunting grounds, which are unalterably destined for such only as do good, and love the Great Spirit. We looked in vain for the stranded and shattered canoes of those, who had done wickedly. We could see none, and were led to hope they were few in number.'\* All this is a clumsy fabrication. The Osages occupy a country of boundless plains. They know nothing of the ocean, nor do they believe, that the land of departed spirits is beyond it. The Heaven of the Indians is as sensual as the Mahometan paradise, and every tribe places it in situations, and fills it with objects, most familiar and agreeable,

' And thinks, admitted to that equal sky,  
His faithful dog shall bear him company.'

The Osages know nothing of canoes, and we have the best authority for saying, that there is not one in the nation. And yet their departed friends are sent over an ocean of which they never heard, in vessels such as they never saw!

Their opinion of the condition of the soul after death, is derived from their habits and modes of life. Their land of spirits is an extensive *prairie*, peopled with their friends, filled with game, and abounding in all that an Indian can desire. When they are buried, their clothes and other necessary articles are buried with them, that they may not suffer in the country for which they have departed. Every warrior

has a horse, which is never used but in war. This horse, with his saddle and accoutrements upon him, is brought to his master's grave after death, and is placed directly over it. He is then shot in the forehead, and there left, ready to be mounted by his master, on their arrival in the land of departed spirits.

We intended to expose Hunter's statements, respecting the courtship of the Indians, his trash about their materia medica, and many other topics, which he has introduced into his book. But we have exhausted our own patience, and probably that of our readers. It is evident, that the compiler of Hunter's work had examined the preceding accounts of the Indians, which have been published. But he was not able to discriminate between the different customs of differing tribes, and has therefore described the Osages and the neighboring nations, as possessing customs of which they have no knowledge. Among others, he speaks of throwing the tomahawk, a well known amusement with the northern Indians, but never practised in the southwest. The pipe tomahawk, which alone they use, is wholly unfit for this purpose. He describes the rifle as the common weapon of men and boys. But that instrument is very seldom used by the Indians of the plains, and, in fact, it has not been known among them till within a few years. Probably not one in ten is armed with it. The bow and arrow are their most efficient weapons against the Buffalo, and the northwest fusils, as they are called, are the most common firearms. He also describes the boys, as working with the women. A most disgraceful employment, utterly unknown among any of the Indians. And he speaks of wild rice, as an article of food, which in fact is found in no part of the country, where he pretends to have lived. These more minute circumstances he could not mistake, if he described facts only as they existed. And if not, it is in such descriptions, that his falsehoods become most apparent. But one of his grossest errors relates to the Ottawas. He speaks, in many places of his work, of the Ottawas, as a tribe of southwestern Indians.\* He had heard, or his compiler had read, of such a tribe, and they placed it in a most unfortunate situation. There is not an Ottawa west of the Mississippi, nor south of the heads of the Illinois river.

\* See pages 41, 95, 198, 200.

We shall close this part of our subject, by submitting the following testimony in confirmation of our statement, respecting the imposture of Hunter. The originals of the letters here published we have in our hands, with their proper signatures. They are written by gentlemen of the highest respectability, whose declarations may be received with perfect confidence. Of General Clark, the companion of Lewis in their adventurous journey to the Pacific Ocean, formerly Governor of Missouri, and now Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St Louis, it is unnecessary to speak. His character is too well known to require any encomium from us. He writes as follows.

*St Louis, Sept. 3, 1825.*

SIR,

In answer to your inquiries respecting the man, who calls himself Hunter, I have no hesitation in stating, that he is an impostor. Many of the most important circumstances mentioned by him are, to my certain knowledge, barefaced falsehoods. I have been acquainted in this country since 1803, and have resided in it since 1807, and for eighteen years have been connected with the Indian Department. It is not possible he could have lived with the tribes he mentions, and gone through with the scenes he describes, without some knowledge of him, and of his history, having reached me.

WILLIAM CLARK.

The next letter is from Mr Vasquez, subagent for the Kansas. He is an intelligent man, a Spaniard by descent, and well acquainted with the Indians in that country. He accompanied Pike in his journey to the Internal Provinces.

*St Louis, Sept. 3, 1825.*

SIR,

I have received your note of yesterday. In answer to the inquiries contained therein, I can say, that I have been engaged in trade with the Kansas tribe of Indians nineteen years, between the years 1796 and 1824, and that, during the whole of that time, there was no white man a prisoner, of any age or description among them; nor do I believe that such a circumstance has occurred for the last thirty years.

BARONET VASQUEZ.

The writer of the next letter, Major Choteau, has perhaps more knowledge of the Osages, than any other man living. It was owing to his exertions, and those of his brother, that a considerable portion of the tribe separated from the others,

and left the Missouri for the Arkansas. They are both natives of Louisiana, enjoying in the decline of life, with unblemished characters, the fruits of their exertions among the Osages for half a century.

*St Louis, Sept. 3, 1825.*

SIR,

In answer to your favor, I have the honor to state, that my acquaintance with the Osages has been since 1775 to this day, in the capacity of trader, agent, or otherwise, and that during that period, there never was any white boy living or brought up by them. I can further add, that had this circumstance happened, it could not but have come to my knowledge.

P. CHOTEAU.

One more letter, written by Mr Dunn, a member of the Missouri Legislature, shall close this part of our testimony. This was the gentleman, it will be recollected, whom Hunter states to have been his great patron and friend, and for whom he was named, after his return, as a mark of grateful affection. We will only add, that our personal inquiries of the most respectable inhabitants at Cape Girardeau, where Hunter says he was so long at school, satisfied us, that no such person, as he describes himself to have been, was, under any name, ever known there.

*Cape Girardeau, Sept. 4, 1825.*

SIR,

I have the honor to state, in answer to your inquiries on the subject, that I have never known such a person as John Dunn Hunter, the reputed author of *Memoirs of a captivity among the Osage Indians*, between the years 1804 and 1820. I have been a resident in the vicinity of this place for the last twenty years, during which time I have never heard of a person, bearing the same name with myself, in this country. I am, therefore, confident, that the author alluded to is an impostor, and that the work issued under his name is a fiction, most probably the labor of an individual, who has never seen the various tribes of Indians of whom he speaks.

I can further state, that I have known no man of the name of Wyatt in this county, who seems to have been mentioned as one of the friends of Hunter.

JOHN DUNN.

The facts exhibited in these letters need no comment. With every advantage for knowing the reality, it is not possible for the authors of them to mistake in so plain a matter. It should be kept in mind, that it was among the Osage and Kansas Indians, that Hunter represents the years of his captivity

chiefly to have been passed. The following is his account of the name he assumed. 'While with the Indians, they had given me the name of Hunter, because of my expertness and success in the chase; I therefore determined on retaining that as my patronymic. And as Mr John Dunn, a gentleman of high respectability, of Cape Girardeau county, state of Missouri, had treated me in every respect more like a brother or son, than any other individual had, since my association with the white people, I adopted his for that of my distinctive, and have since been known by the name of John Dunn Hunter.'\* In the same connexion he mentions having passed several weeks at school, in the neighborhood of Cape Girardeau.

We have thought it our duty to make this exposition to the public, because Hunter's book has gained considerable popularity, and because it is highly important that, if we cannot advance, we should not at least go backward, in our knowledge of the history and character of the Indians. The world has been amused with fable and fiction enough on this subject, and it is time now to look for facts, or be contented with the small stock that exists. Besides, we have, like other persons we presume, an inherent aversion to being imposed on, and feel it to be a demand of justice, that any person, guilty of so gross a fabrication, and so impudent a breach of good faith to the public, should be held up to open reprobation.

It was our first purpose to add in this place other remarks, respecting certain topics discussed in the review of Hunter's book in the *Quarterly*. It would not be easy to find an article of the same length, containing more blunders, if not misrepresentations, or tinged with a more thoroughly false coloring from beginning to end, and particularly in relation to the events on the frontiers during the late war. This subject may possibly be resumed on a future occasion, and a general view be presented of the comparative conduct of the British and American governments towards the Indians, and the policy and objects of each, both in peace and war. These particulars are very imperfectly understood, even in this country, and when fully developed, we hesitate not to say, that they will reflect the highest credit on the American government, at the same time they expose not more the unjustifiable mea-

\* Hunter's Narrative, Life of the Author, p. 134.



asures of the British cabinet, than the ignorance, or perverseness, of British writers.\*

Mr Halkett's work is a compilation from the standard writers, and contains an impartial and temperate account of the former condition of the Indians, and a review of the efforts, which have been made for their improvement. The author feels like a man of humanity, and writes like a man of sense. He has, however, as most writers upon these topics have done before him, overrated the amount of the aboriginal population, at the era of the discovery.

The statements upon this subject were certainly made in a spirit of exaggeration, by the early adventurers to America. Cautious statistical observations were not characteristics of the age ; nor was the condition of the people, then recently made known to the old world, favorable for any probable estimate of their numbers. They were roaming through interminable forests, seeking a precarious subsistence ; sending out their war parties to destroy their enemies, or providing for their own safety ; showing themselves here today, and far distant tomorrow.† There is no reason to believe, that

\*The Quarterly Reviewers seem to have as strong a propensity for discovering American prodigies, as for misrepresenting American character, attainments, history, and institutions. They have, as we have seen, recently discovered Hunter, and made an elaborate eulogy upon him and his story. Some ten years ago, a vagrant sailor, who had been shipwrecked on the west coast of Africa, was picked up in the streets of London. This man said he was an American, called his name Robert Adams, and pretended to have penetrated far into the interior of Africa, and to have resided for some time at Timbuctoo. All this was credited by the knowing ones in London, and the illiterate sailor was made to dictate a book, which appeared in a majestic quarto, and came out under the patronage of noblemen, literati, and divers dignitaries of the nation. The Quarterly took it up, as a matter of course, with all due gravity, and bestowed much learning, and many sage comments, on this marvellous narrative ; and by quoting Arabic, and various other tongues, settled, in the most summary manner, many difficult points of geography in the centre of Africa, and particularly the situation, character of the people, government, trade, and internal polity of the mysterious city of Timbuctoo. From that day to this, Robert Adams, the American sailor, has not been heard of. The Quarterly has now and then feebly reiterated some of its former statements, but no incident has occurred, which could in the remotest degree corroborate the story of Adams.

The imposture was fully detected in this Journal at the time, (*North American Review*, Vol. V. p. 11, No. xiii, for May ; and p. 204, No. xiv, for July, 1817,) from testimony which amounted to a demonstration, and which no attempt has since been made to invalidate.

† No work abounds in more exaggerated statements of the Indian population, than de la Vega's narrative of the expedition of Ferdinand de Soto ; and we consider it, as a historical document, entitled to about as much credit as the

any essential change has occurred in their mode of life. Hunting was the only occupation of the men, and it was followed at all seasons, casually, as opportunity or necessity dictated ; but principally in the winter, when the animals were in the best condition, and when alone their skins were valuable. They then retired to their hunting grounds ; not in bands, for the game would soon have disappeared before them. But almost every family selected a residence for itself, remote from others, where the game was abundant, and where they were employed in procuring and preserving meat and skins for immediate and future use. When this season passed away, they returned to their villages, where a little corn was raised with savage indolence, and consumed with savage improvidence. These annual migrations were frequently restrained, and sometimes prevented by the offensive and defensive operations, rendered necessary by their mutual and eternal hostilities ; and a scarcity of provisions was the consequence, which led, as elsewhere, to famine and death. Many well authenticated accounts have reached us, of the most frightful sufferings under these circumstances.

It is obvious that such habits could exist only in a boundless forest, and among a sparse population ; for where each family requires a deer, or an elk, or a buffalo, for its daily consumption, the herd, which is to supply such a demand, must occupy an extensive district of country.

Their powers of repletion and of abstinence were equally remarkable ; and Mc Kenzie and other travellers relate facts

account of the Argonautic expedition ; and it is not less difficult to reconcile its topographical details, than it is those of the Colchian adventurers with the general features of the country. One hundred and forty years after his expedition, the territory upon the Mississippi became well known to the French, and no traces then remained of his cities within sight of one another, of his crowded population and cultivated fields. Everything was then, as it had been found elsewhere in the new world, and as it remained, till changed by civilised man. So it doubtless had existed for ages. It is surprising, that any credit has ever been given to this work. Mr Nuttall has calculated the marches of de Soto's army, as they are recorded ; and an estimate of the courses and distances will carry us north of Lake Superior. It is stated with perfect gravity in the history, that two Indian Chiefs quarrelled for the honor of sitting at table at the right hand of de Soto !

The Natchez have always been represented as a numerous and powerful tribe, and it has been often asserted in proof of this, that they had five hundred *Suns*, or Chiefs, subordinate to the great Sun. The origin of this story will be found in Du Pratz, who states, that it was related to him by one of these Chiefs, as a tradition, which had descended to them from their ancestors. And this is history !

upon this subject, which, however they may be at variance with our own experience and observation, we have no right to doubt. Captain Franklin states the daily allowance to each Indian and half breed, in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, to be three white fish, averaging four pounds each, or two wild geese, or eight pounds of solid Moose meat.

As long as the destruction of the game was restricted to an adequate supply of the wants of the Indians themselves, it is probable there was little diminution in the number of animals, and that here, as in other cases, population and subsistence had preserved an equal ratio to each other. But when the white man arrived with his cloths, guns, and other tempting articles, and the introduction of new wants drove the Indians to greater exertions to supply them, animals were killed for their furs and skins. An important article of exchange was made known to the Indians, which they were stimulated to procure, and an alarming declension became visible in the animals, essential to their support. Their population, scanty as it was, soon began to press upon their means of subsistence, and the operation of these causes was accelerated by the introduction of firearms, and the consequent facility afforded for destroying the game. The occupation of the hunter ere long became laborious, and his labor was rewarded with diminished success. He found the means of supplying his family decreased, as their attachment to the articles brought among them, and their wants, increased. Game became less abundant, and receded from the circle of destruction, which advanced with the advancing settlements.

We are satisfied that this cause has had a strong influence in reducing the Indian population. Its operation has been aided by other circumstances ; by the small pox, whose ravages have been sometimes frightful ; and by ardent spirits, which have prostrated the mental and physical energies, and debased the character of the Indians, in the immediate vicinity of the white settlements ; but whose general effect, we are strongly inclined to believe, has been greatly overrated.

Among the remote tribes, spirits are scarcely ever seen, and they do not constitute an article of general use, even among those, who are much nearer to us. The regulations of the government are such, and they are so rigidly enforced, that the general introduction of spirits into the Indian country

is too hazardous for profitable speculation. Nor could it bear the expense of very distant transportation ; for if sold and consumed, a corresponding reduction must be made in clothing, guns, powder, and lead, articles essential to the successful prosecution of their hunting expeditions, and without which the trader would soon find his credits unpaid, and his adventure equally ruinous to the Indians and himself.

But their own ceaseless hostilities, as indefinite in their objects, as in their duration, have, more than any other cause, led to the melancholy depopulation, traces of which are everywhere visible through the unsettled country ; less, perhaps, by the direct slaughter, which these hostilities have occasioned, than by the change of habits incident to their prosecution, and by the scarcity of the means of subsistence, which have attended the interruption of the ordinary employments of the Indians. There is reason to believe, that firearms, by equalising the physical power of the combatants, have among these people, as in Europe, lessened the horrors of war.

It will be observed, that in this brief analysis of the causes, which have accompanied and accelerated the progress of Indian depopulation, we have not taken into view the situation of the small tribes in New England and Virginia, at the first settlement of these countries, and subsequently to that period. The stranger and the native were there soon brought into hostilities, and it is difficult to separate the effect of these, from the operation of other causes.

We shall refer to a few facts, in support of the speculations in which we have indulged ; and as the scenes of their occurrence are separated from us by a wide interval of time or space, the white man cannot be accused of causing the depopulation, of which they are striking evidences.

Father Sagard, in 1632, estimated the Wyandots at fifty thousand, and after making all proper allowances for the good father's credulity, and for the difficulty attending even a probable enumeration, still their numbers must have been very great. In 1645, they were reduced, by war and famine, to a miserable remnant, who fled before the Iroquois, their enemies, and sought refuge with the Sioux in the country west of Lake Superior.

In 1805, when Lewis and Clark ascended the Missouri, they found an intelligent man, named Jesso, living with the

Mandans. This man informed them, that when he arrived there, twenty years before, there were five inhabited villages, and four, which had been then recently abandoned. The remains of all these were distinctly visible, and were traced by the exploring party. At that time, the number was reduced to three, and now there is but one remaining. In 1763, the Arickarees, when first visited by Colonel Choteau, had thirteen villages. In 1804, they had three, and they have now but two; and one of these has been formed by a union of several dispersed bands. A woman of the Snake tribe accompanied the same party, as an interpreter. She had been taken prisoner many years before, and when they arrived at her native tribe, and of which her brother was the Chief, she found, that during the period of her captivity, they had lost more than half their people.

The Indians, in that extensive region, are to this day far beyond the operation of any causes, primary or secondary, which can be traced to civilised man, and which have had a tendency to accelerate their progressive depopulation. And yet their numbers have decreased with appalling rapidity. They are in a state of perpetual hostility, and it is believed there is not a tribe between the Mississippi and the Pacific, which has not some enemy to flee from or to pursue. The war flag is never struck upon their thousand hills, nor the war song unsung through their boundless plains.

We have only stated a few prominent facts; but, were it necessary, many others might be adduced to prove, that the decrease in the number of the Indians, whatever it may be, has been owing more to themselves, than to the whites. To humanity it is indeed consolatory to ascertain, that the early estimates of aboriginal population were made in a spirit of exaggeration; and that, although it has greatly declined, still its declension may be traced to causes, which were operating before the arrival of the Europeans, or which may be truly assigned, without any imputation upon the motives of the first adventurers or their descendants.

But after all, neither the government nor people of the United States have any wish to conceal from themselves, nor from the world, that there is upon their frontiers a wretched, forlorn people, looking to them for support and protection, and possessing strong claims upon their justice and humanity.

These people received our forefathers in a spirit of friendship, aided them to endure privations and sufferings, and taught them how to provide for many of the wants, with which they were surrounded. The Indians were then strong, and we were weak; and, without looking at the change which has occurred, in any spirit of morbid affectation, but with the feelings of an age accustomed to observe great mutations in the fortunes of nations and of individuals, we may express our regret, that they have lost so much of what we have gained. The prominent points of their history are before the world, and will go down unchanged to posterity. In the revolution of a few ages, this fair portion of the continent, which was theirs, has passed into our possession. The forests, which afforded them food and security, where were their cradles, their home, and their graves, have disappeared, or are disappearing, before the progress of civilisation.

We have extinguished their council fires, and ploughed up the bones of their fathers. Their population has diminished with lamentable rapidity. Those tribes that remain, like the lone column of a fallen temple, exhibit but the sad relics of their former strength; and many others live only in the names, which have reached us through the earlier accounts of travellers and historians. The causes, which have produced this moral desolation, are yet in constant and active operation, and threaten to leave us, at no distant day, without a living proof of Indian sufferings, from the Atlantic to the immense desert, which sweeps along the base of the Rocky Mountains. Nor can we console ourselves with the reflection, that their physical declension has been counterbalanced, by any melioration in their moral condition. We have taught them neither how to live, nor how to die. They have been equally stationary in their manners, habits, and opinions; in everything but their numbers and their happiness; and although existing more than six generations, in contact with a civilised people, they owe to them no one valuable improvement in the arts; nor a single principle, which can restrain their passions, or give hope to despondence, motive to exertion, or confidence to virtue.

Slow and embarrassing has been the progress of all barbarous tribes, through that interval of their history, which

follows the first rude efforts to procure a bare subsistence, and which is terminated by the operation of those causes, that eventually lead to everything desirable in civilised life. Nor is it easy to assign the true reason for these changes, and we may seek it in vain, either in fabulous or authentic history. The first impulse may be given by accidental circumstances, by a Hercules or a Manco Capac, whose labors tradition has distorted, while it has perpetuated them. This wide interval of stationary existence is occupied by many tribes, in very different stages of improvement, from the Bosjesman and the Eskimaux, antipodes in residence, but exhibiting equally the lowest state of human degradation, to the comparatively polished hordes, who live now as they have always lived, among the earliest monuments of history and tradition. There the Arab has remained, as unchanged as his cloudless sky and sandy desert, and the Scythian Nomades yet roam through the Asiatic wastes, as they did in the days of Herodotus.

Efforts, however, have not been wanting, to reclaim the Indians from their forlorn condition; but with what hopeless results, we have only to cast our eyes upon them to ascertain. Whether the cause of this failure must be sought in the principles of these efforts, or in their application, has not yet been satisfactorily determined; but the important experiments, which are now making, will, probably, ere long put the question at rest. During more than a century, great zeal was displayed by the French Court, and by many of the dignified French ecclesiastics, for the conversion of the American aborigines in Canada; and learned, and pious, and zealous men devoted themselves with noble ardor, and intrepidity, to this generous work. At what immense personal sacrifices we can never fully estimate. And it is melancholy to contrast their privations and sufferings, living and dying, with the fleeting memorials of their labors. A few external ceremonies, affecting neither the head nor the heart, and which are retained like idle legends among some of the aged Indians, are all that remain to preserve the recollection of their spiritual fathers; and we have stood upon the ruins of St Ignace, on the shores of Lake Huron, their principal missionary establishment, indulging those melancholy reflections, which must always press upon the mind, amid the fallen monuments of human piety.

The great error of the Catholic fathers was in the importance, which they attached to speculative creeds, and unmeaning ceremonies; and in their neglect to teach their Neophytes any arts, which could be useful to them. Frivolous questions assumed a very false importance; and among other instances of this folly, it was gravely referred to the Doctors of the Sorbonne, to decide whether beavers' tails might be eaten in Canada in lent. The consequence of all this was, that no valuable nor permanent impression was made upon the Indians, and the separation of the shepherd and the flock soon scattered the latter among the forests, unsettled in their opinions, and unfitted by habit for the only pursuit before them.

The efforts, which benevolent individuals and associations are now making through the United States, in cooperation with the government, are founded upon more practical principles, and promise more stable and useful results. We consider any attempt utterly hopeless, to change the habits or opinions of those Indians, who have arrived at years of maturity, and all we can do for them is to add to the comforts of their physical existence. Our hopes must rest upon the rising generation. And, certainly, many of our missionary schools exhibit striking examples of the docility and capacity of their Indian pupils, and offer cheering prospects for the philanthropist. The union of mental and physical discipline, which is enforced at these establishments, is best adapted to the situation of the Indians, and evinces a sound knowledge of those principles of human nature, which must be here called into active exertion. A few years will settle this important question; and we have no doubt, that on small reservations, and among reduced bands, where a spirit of improvement has already commenced, its effects will be salutary and permanent.

But we confess that, under other circumstances, our fears are stronger than our hopes. Where the tribes are in their original state, with land enough to roam over, and game enough to pursue, they not only do not feel the value of our institutions, but are utterly opposed to them. Young men, sent from the missionary establishments among such tribes, may be Indians in blood and color, but they will be whites in habits, feelings, and opinions. They cannot be hunters, for



time and experience can alone qualify them for these pursuits, which will be found incompatible with the whole course of their education. Nor can they, without such pecuniary means as few will be able to command, become successful farmers. They will be strangers in their native land, exciting jealousy and suspicion, and seeking in vain one kindred feeling. And if they should receive or acquire any property, their Indian relations, in conformity with invariable custom, would live with them in entire indolence, until it was exhausted. What hopes or employment are left for them under these circumstances? We apprehend, that in too many instances they would seek refuge in excessive ebriety; and this has been remarked upon the frontiers, as the fate of almost every Indian, who has been educated in our settlements. But we have too much respect for the pious men, engaged in this mighty effort, and feel too deep an interest in the result, to wish to discourage their labors by any untimely forebodings. The final issue must be left to the unerring test of experience.

A different plan has been suggested by the Executive Department of the government, and recommended to Congress. This plan contemplates certain conventional arrangements with the various tribes, east of the Mississippi, by which they may be induced to abandon their present places of residence, and remove to the country west of that river. The able and excellent statesmen, with whom it had its origin, have probably, in surveying the condition of the Indians, derived no hope for the future, from a retrospect of the past; and they felt, that the situation of this hapless people pressed upon the responsibility of the government, and the character of the country. But we are seriously apprehensive, that in this gigantic plan of public charity, the magnitude of the outline has withdrawn our attention from the necessary details, and that, if it be adopted to the extent proposed, it will exasperate the evils that we are all anxious to allay.

Migratory, as our Indians are, they all have, with few exceptions, certain districts which they have occupied for ages; to which they are attached by all the ties which bind men, white or red, to their country; and where their particular habits, and modes of life, have become accommodated to the nature of the animals, which furnish their subsistence. The larger quadrupeds, whose flesh is used for food, the buffalo,

the moose, the elk, the deer, the bear, the caribou, and the musk ox, are not found in any single quarter of country, and very different modes of taking and killing them are used, founded on their various habits, and acquired by long experience. This is also the case with the fur bearing animals, the muskrat, the raccoon, the otter, and the beaver. And so with respect to other articles of food, the various kinds of fish, wild rice, roots, and berries.

Providence, which tempers the wind to the shorn lamb, has distributed these productions through the country with an impartial hand, and the Indians have availed themselves of the food thus spontaneously offered to them, and have learned the mode of taking, preparing, and preserving it. A removal through eight degrees of latitude, and fifteen degrees of longitude, will bring many of them to a country, of whose animal and vegetable productions they are ignorant, and will require them to make great changes in their habits, to accommodate themselves to the new circumstances, in which they may be placed;\* changes, which we, flexible as we are, should make with difficulty, and with great sacrifices of health and life. It is no slight task for a whole people, from helpless infancy to the decrepitude of age, to abandon their native land, and seek in a distant, and perhaps barren region, new means of support. The public papers inform us, that an attempt was made this season in Ohio, by the authorised agents of the government, to induce the Shawnese to remove to the west, and that liberal offers were made of money, provisions, and land. But it seems they declined, alleging that they were happy and contented in their present situation, and expressing their dissatisfaction with the nature of the country offered to them.

But this is not all. Many of the tribes, as we have already seen, east and west of the Mississippi, are in a state of active warfare, which has existed for ages. The Chippewas are hereditary enemies of the Sioux, and the Sacs and Foxes have recently joined the former in the war; and most of the Algonquin tribes, the Delawares, Shawnese, Kickapoos, Mia-

\* These observations do not apply to the removal of the Creeks. Many of their own people, and still more of their kindred tribes, have removed west of the Mississippi. And the country offered to them there, is in its climate similar to their own.

mies, and others, are in the same relation to the Osages. How are these tribes to exist together? As well might the deer associate with the wolf, and expect to escape with impunity. The weak would fall before the strong. Parcel out the country as we may among them, they will not be restrained in their movements by imaginary lines, but will roam where their inclination may dictate. There is a strong tendency to war, in the whole system of Indian education and institutions. How is the young man to boast of his exploits, at the great war dance and feast of his band, as his father has done before him, unless he can find an enemy to encounter? How can he wear on his head the envied feathers of the war Eagle,\* and one for each adventure; or paint upon his body a vermillion mark for each wound, if he must pursue game only, and never travel the war path? A cordon of troops, which should encircle each tribe, might keep them all in peace together. But without such a display of an overwhelming military force, we should soon hear, that the war dance was performed, the war song raised, and that the young men had departed in pursuit of fame, scalps, and death. And this scene would be more tremendous, as the Indians were more compressed. They could then neither conceal themselves from the pursuit of their enemies, nor flee from their vengeance.

But it may well be asked, how are we to afford the Indians any aid? How are we to preserve them from decline and extinction? And we must confess, that these questions are not easily to be answered. Some will remove beyond the

\* The feathers of this bird, the *Falco fulvus* of Wilson, are highly esteemed by the Indians. No person is permitted to wear them, who has not been engaged with an enemy; and as one is worn for each adventure, they are *visible* chronicles of the deeds of the warriors. He who has arrived at years of maturity, and is destitute of these evidences of daring, is little better than a squaw. They are tied to the hair, and are admirably adapted to give effect to the whole Indian costume.

The bird itself is called the Calumet Eagle, and is among the American birds, what the lion is among quadrupeds. These eagles fly rapidly, and their descent is attended with a sound, which is heard at a considerable distance, and which is a signal to all other birds to disappear.

Their evident superiority has led to the veneration in which they are held. They are rare, and killed with difficulty. A hole is sometimes dug and slightly covered, and here a hunter will watch day after day, with a bird in his hand to entice and take the eagle. At other times a deer is killed, and a covert made near it, where equal patience is displayed, till a successful shot secures the prize. A horse is sometimes given for a feather.

Mississippi. But this will be done gradually, as their circumstances may require, and as their safety may permit. Others will remain, and perhaps become incorporated with our population.

The whole subject, however, is involved in great doubt and difficulty, and it is better to do nothing, than to hazard the risk of increasing their misery. For ourselves, we think, that the efforts of the government should be limited to certain general objects and regulations. That the laws, regulating trade and intercourse with them, should be revised, and their injunctions and prohibitions rendered more plain in execution. That the officers of the Department should be increased, and stationed at every important point of the frontier, to soothe and encourage the Indians, to enforce the observance of the laws, and to watch the conduct of the traders. That neither expense nor exertions should be spared, to prevent the introduction of whiskey into the country, and that the Indians should be persuaded to pass the boundary line, as seldom as possible. That the acts of Congress should be extended to them, under that provision of the constitution, which allows the general government to regulate our intercourse with them, when in our settlements, where they are now lamentably exposed, and left without protection. That hunters and trappers should be excluded from their country. That, as the failure of any of their ordinary articles of subsistence is attended with frightful calamities, provisions should be sent to them occasionally, when suffering from want; that seed corn, domestic animals, and farming utensils, should be distributed among them, and that honest, zealous men should be employed to labor for them and with them. That they should be encouraged to hold separate property, and to divide their lands among families and individuals. That ten thousand dollars should be annually added to the appropriation for civilising them, until a satisfactory judgment can be formed, of the probable result of this experiment. And that, after all this, we should leave their fate to the common God of the white man and the Indian.

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